

MEDIAEVAL TOWNS



PADUA



31



The Story of Padua

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Ermitani.

St. James before the Emperor.

Anderson. Photo.

Mantegna.

The Story of Padua 55-355

by Cesare Foligno, Illus-
trated by *Giovanni Vianello*



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TO

THOMAS OKEY

THIS BOOK IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED.

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PREFACE

MEDIÆVAL chroniclers of Padua evince in their writings a keen sense of the ideal importance of their native town. The love of fame remained strong among her citizens for centuries, and, as Goethe wrote, well becomes the proud hosts of one of the oldest Universities in Europe. Although not a Paduan, by reason of a long acquaintance with the legends and chronicles of mediæval Padua I have been brought by degrees to admire and to love the quiet and perhaps subdued charm of the old city. For any merit that an indulgent reader may trace in the following pages I am therefore chiefly indebted to the spell which Padua herself exercised upon me.

As no general history of Padua is known to me I have gathered her records from a careful perusal of contemporary chronicles, published and unpublished, and I have made myself acquainted with as many documentary sources as have, to my knowledge, been published. At the same time I have availed myself of such classic works as those of Scardeone, Gennari, Verci and Cittadella, and of some general histories, such as the *Storia delle Signorie* by Cipolla, or *Die Anfaenge der Signorie* by Salzer. In the serial publications of the *Archivio* and *Ateneo Veneto*, of the Academies of Padua, Venice and Turin, in the *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, and in special works, many particular events have been carefully elucidated by the erudition of Signori Beda, Bonardi, Benvenuto and Roberto Cessi, Gloria, Lazzarini, Medin, Piva, Rambaldi and Soranzo.

Preface

Artistic research has been rendered an easier task by the old but classic *Guida di Padova* of Selvatico. Former works are quite overshadowed by it, while modern research only succeeded in amplifying and correcting it. In the course of the ensuing pages I acknowledge my principal authorities and it would be tedious to add here a long bibliography. Nevertheless I must state that Volkmann's *Padua* and Ronchi's *Guida-Ricordo di Padova* have been very useful to me.

Finally, it is a pleasant duty for me to recognise my personal indebtedness to two Paduans whom I may perhaps venture to call my friends, and who assisted me with sound advice in this work—Count Claricini Dornpacher and Professor Vittorio Lazzarini.



The Story of Padua

CHAPTER I

Roman and Early Mediæval Centuries

“Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achivis
Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intuma tutus
Regna Liburnorum et fontem superare Timavi,
Unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure montis
It mare proruptum et pelago premit arva sonanti.
Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi sedesque locavit
Teucrorum, et gentem nomen dedit armaque fixit
Troia, nunc placida compostus pace quiescit.”

VIRGIL, *Aeneis*, I. vv. 242-49.

BUT faint light has been thrown on the prehistoric settlers on the lower part of the river Bacchiglione by ancient and recent excavation. Archæologists still differ as to their origin, although they agree in calling them “Euganei.” And little more than this bare name is known to history.

Roman pride together with that natural terror of the unknown, peculiar to all ignorant nations, which in classic times filled the woods, the mountains, the rivers and the seas with gods, nymphs and the infinite variety of mythological divinities, easily succeeded in peopling the dark background of history with more or less widely-spread legends. Therefore the Paduans, who can boast but scant references in the works of

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their great citizen, Livy, and whose supposed antecedent glories were extinguished when their province was absorbed by the Roman Republic, will repeat to you now, and were able to relate in old days, a long story of commercial wealth and successful political struggles. Now although the actual monuments of Roman times are scarcely remarked by the traveller, the low murmur of voices long dead is yet heard in Padua. There is a peculiar sadness in the Paduan air, suggestive of legends and dreams. Virgil, who collected and made authoritative in his poem the sayings about the eastern, Iliac, origin of the Romans, has, by the charm of his hexameters, widely diffused these strange claims, and thus prompted the provincial towns to make similar claims. It may therefore be said that both the pre-Roman and early mediæval ages, whose history has only recently been elucidated by patient researches and masterly inferences from scanty documents, were adorned with popular legends.

Before "pius Aeneas" arrived in Latium, where Fate had long decided that the fugitive Penates of Ilion should find a glorious and eventful resting-place, another Priam (Antenor) landed not far from the mouth of the Brenta. His journey was not vouchsafed the spirited eulogy of a Roman poet-laureate; and one cannot suppose that the first settler in peaceful ancient "Patavium" underwent the same trials that fell to the lot of his great kinsman, Aeneas. Local historians of the Renaissance tell us how the young Trojan, having quickly perceived that the luscious plain which lay around the Euganean hills, fertilised by the sluggish streams of the Bacchiglione and of the Brenta, promised bountiful crops and offered rich grazing to sheep and horses, decided to found here a new home for himself and his followers, who

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were driven from their glorious old town; that town which the gods had twice encircled with a high girdle of walls, but which now was burnt and wrecked by the hatred of the Greeks and by divine wrath.

As the little settlement was spared the trials of war, it soon became a flourishing and rich city surrounded by prosperous farms. Curiously enough, other towns on the Adriatic shore, of which Altinum was one, made claim to an identical origin, but all, after many centuries of more or less eventful history, were doomed to fall a prey to the ruinous invasion of the Huns, led by Attila, the scourge of God.

Still, if we emerge from the misty yet captivating atmosphere of legend, and endeavour to trace the real history of Padua, we do find that a peaceful people once lived here, whom the Latin historians admit to have lent a helpful hand to Rome in many a difficulty. When Brennus, the great chieftain of Gaul, shattered the Roman army and besieged the city itself, whose Capitolium was opportunely saved by vigilant geese, he was forced to retreat not only by reason of the heroic patriotism of Camillus, but principally because his own land was invaded by an army of 120,000 Paduans and their allies. The Roman protectorate was extended to Padua some time during the fourth century B.C. In 302 B.C. the Lacedæmonian king, Kleonymos, sailing with a powerful fleet along the Adriatic shores, ventured to proceed from Chioggia, where the Bacchiglione falls into the sea, up the river as far as the environs of the town. The Paduans were surprised, but quickly prepared to defend themselves. Courageous youths hurriedly donned their armour; a severe fight ensued and the predatory expedition was checked. Paduan ardour and superior tactics soon mastered the Spartans; only one-fifth of Kleonymos' men escaped from the

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terrible onslaught, and Livy tells us that down to his days the Paduans used yearly to commemorate this victory by a regatta and by thanksgivings in the temple of Juno, as he had witnessed himself in his youth.

During the second invasion of the Gauls in 290 B.C., when many allies deserted the Romans in their dire need, the Paduans still kept faith with them and remained neutral.

Sixty-five years later, in 225 B.C., Rome extended to them her alliance; and even during the second Punic War, when Hannibal defeated one Roman general after another, slew thousands of Roman soldiers and succeeded in organising a general rising among her enemies, while at the same time he sowed disaffection among her friends, the Paduans not merely shrank from joining in the rebellion, but fought side by side with the vanquished Romans in the battles on the Trebbia and at Cannae. Probably after this Padua became altogether a Roman province, as there are records of Roman magistrates who stayed the dissensions that had arisen between the inhabitants of Padua and those of Vicenza and Este. Lastly the wealth and natural beauty of this province are said to have saved Rome; their charm having seduced the Cymbrians, who had swept over the Alps in 102 B.C., to dally there nearly a year, thus enabling Marius to fall on them after having slain their kinsfolk at Vercelli.* Soon afterwards the Paduans began

* 100,000 of the Cymbrians were killed in this battle; 70,000 taken prisoners. For a long time the inhabitants of the "Tredici comuni" in the Veronese and those of the "Sette comuni vicentini" have been supposed to be the scions of the few that escaped from the onslaught. As a matter of fact these queer colonies of Gothic origin, which still remain amidst the Italian population, seem to be the descendants of those Alans that, defeated by the Franks in 495, were granted land and protection by King Theodoric.

Roman and Early Mediæval Centuries

gradually to acquire Roman rights; for, having abstained from joining in the social war (90-89 B.C.), they were granted Latin citizenship, and were in 45 B.C. inscribed in the Fabian tribe.

If we may believe Lucan, the Paduans favoured Cæsar during his feud with Pompey, and, after the murder of the former, were treated mildly under the rule of Brutus as well as that of Octavian.

From other, and perhaps more trustworthy, sources we learn that Padua was a city of the first rank, rich in commerce and agriculture. When Augustus ordered a census to be taken, Padua, among the Latin towns, appeared to be second only to Rome and Cadiz in population; Strabo informs us that she numbered over 500 "Equites" among her citizens; * from the hills she received famous wines in plenty; the fertile plains yielded abundant crops of wheat; the wool-spinning industry flourished in this district throughout the middle ages; and a renowned breed of swift horses gave an added glory to the town. Padua might also be considered as a busy port, since big vessels sailed daily up the Bacchiglione from Malamocco. Livy, Valerius Flaccus and Arruntius Stella endowed her, in different centuries, with even the fame of literature. How few remains of all this pomp still survive!

The visitor who intends to enjoy the subtle and inexpressible charm of Giotto's paintings in the Cappella degli Scrovegni is admitted through a gate leading into the wrecked, but still imposing ruins of a vast Roman circus, larger in bulk than the Arena in Verona. According to Tacitus and Strabo, the Paduans celebrated every thirty years the "ludi" commemorating the foundation of their city by Antenor, in the theatre, which existed on the opposite side of

* An "Eques" had to own at least 400,000 sester tia—a sum of about £11,000

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the town, in Pra' della Valle. Some remains of the building were found during recent excavations, although the Bishops and the citizens throughout the Middle Ages had freely availed themselves of its marble blocks for building purposes. The place has been long called "Zairo," an obvious popular locution for "theatrum." At least four bridges crossed the Bacchiglione in Roman Padua (Ponte Molini, Altinate, S. Lorenzo, Corbo); all of them revealing, at least in the structure of their foundations, clear traces of Roman architecture.

During last century columns and tombs of Roman origin were dug out in various parts of the city, but by far the most significant discovery took place during the construction of the Caffè Pedrocchi, when the remains of a noble and spacious Forum were discovered. Experts declared them to belong to the period of the Julian Emperors, and affirmed that the extent of the building proved, beyond all possible doubt, the importance of the city in classic times. Near to the town were the famous "thermae" of Abano, surrounded by their springs of hot medicinal waters, whither suffering people go in crowds even now; remains of Roman buildings were excavated here also, amongst them a statue of Hercules or Nero.

Reduced to a subordinate condition during the Empire, Padua soon became but a provincial town, more or less tainted with the same corruption that was infecting Rome with rapid decay, and afforded the Gauls, Saxons, Alans, Goths and Huns many opportunities to swarm over her unguarded frontiers. In 451 Attila, who had the previous year been repulsed at Chalons by Aetius' astute tactics and the Visigoths' strenuous fighting, appeared with a huge host of his Huns before Aquileia, then a big town and an im-



THE ARCH OF PONTE DEI MOLINI

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portant fortress but now a forsaken village in the marshes. The gallant defence by the garrison proved useless; no reinforcements were sent by the futile Emperor, hiding in Ravenna. Aquileia was taken, sacked, plundered and given a prey to fire. The Huns, dark-skinned, short, hideous-looking, unparalleled horsemen, spared neither sex nor age. The population fled in terror; Concordia and Altino, then important cities, but now, the first a fishermen's hamlet, the second entirely buried under the mud of the lagoons, were soon forced to endure the same fate as Aquileia.

Padua too fell; plunderers and fire raged through buildings once adorned by art and wealth. A terrible period had begun for Italy. In rapid succession the great migrations of peoples from east to west drove one of those elemental races after the other into the garden of Europe. The timid scions of the conquerors of the world endured spoliation and destruction without finding, either in past glories or in present distress, an incitement to resistance. And it was precisely the north-east of Italy that had to suffer most, for along the Adriatic coast ran the great Roman road leading from Padua, and thence from the south and west to Altinum, Concordia, Aquileia and the pass of "Fontes frigidae." The Huns, with their overwhelming forces, had shattered every defence set up for the protection of this all-important road; the towns had, in fact, been ravaged and the inhabitants terrified into submission.

Many other invasions followed on the one led by Attila, leaving behind them the usual train of atrocities, but to the Huns was reserved the doubtful honour of being recorded in the various popular traditions so widely diffused through Italy. Attila still stands in the mind of the fishermen of the lagoons as an un-

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paralleled monster of cruelty; the farmer whose plough strikes one of the bricks that paved the "via Aemilia - Altinatis" regards it as the remains of Attila's road ("la strada di Attila"), not, as in reality it is, one of the paving stones of a great Roman road.

Perhaps during the same epoch that witnessed the birth of the legend dealing with the first settlement of the Paduans in Rialto, another was evolved charging Attila with the long devastations wrought by Goth, Hun, Lombard, Greek, Frank and Hungarian on Venetia and its inhabitants. According to these traditions, there were kings in Aquileia, Concordia, Altino and Padua; all of whom resisted manfully the overwhelming hordes of the barbarians. Chief of these kings was the Paduan Aegidius, who fought many a great battle in defence of his Emperor and of Christianity. When the condition of a town became desperate, all the wounded, the aged, the women and children were sent to the islands in the lagoons, and in this way Torcello, Rialto, Murano, Burano, Caorle and Grado were founded; Rialto by the Queen of Aegidius herself. Finally Attila was killed by King Aegidius for his treachery and his huge army routed at Rimini.

As a matter of fact these legends, which found their way into all Paduan chronicles and histories, have no more documentary support than has the tradition about the foundation of Venice in 421, which is recorded even by such careful historians as Andrea Dandolo and Sanuto. With reference to Padua it may be supposed that the inhabitants, without awaiting Attila's fury, escaped to the lagoons, the majority returning to their wrecked homes as soon as the danger had passed.

This general state of insecurity brought the whole province to a rapid decay; the town shrank within

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small limits, and even inside the girdle of the old walls there were many empty sites. Nearly all the houses were built of wood and covered with straw, although in 568 Venantius Fortunatus, the poet, alludes to the frescoes in the church of Santa Giustina.

In 601 the Lombard Agilulph, to avenge a personal insult offered him by the Greek governor, and to punish the Paduans for their loyalty to the Greeks, set fire to the town; the wooden and thatched buildings were soon ablaze, and two churches were so badly damaged that they had to be rebuilt. Thus Padua, during the fifth and sixth centuries and the beginning of the seventh, fell rapidly from the condition of a flourishing Roman municipality to the lonely seat of a poor Bishop. But in spite of widely-spread assertions, the town was not entirely abandoned after either Attila's or Agilulph's devastations; in fact, it was rebuilt exactly on the same spot. Even if the new masters made the town a dependency of the feudal county of Monselice, the traditional importance of the city remained, and the Bishop retained his old seat. In 620 an inscription was placed in the cathedral, which is still visible, proving that Tricidius was Bishop of Padua. The great importance that the episcopacy was destined to assume in a very short period, enhances the value of this witness to the uninterrupted existence of the city. Padua had, till the inroad of the Huns, enjoyed the privileges of a free Roman municipality, electing her own local magistrates. After Attila's retreat those citizens who returned came back disheartened to their burnt and plundered homes; cheap wooden houses replaced the former stately buildings. Many of the former inhabitants had been killed in battle, many more had chosen their seat by the sea, preferring a hard life of privation on the lagoons, which experience had shown to

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be safe from the plundering of northern invaders. Amongst the farmers, as well as amongst the citizens, that distressing feeling of insecurity prevailed which is characteristic of the Italian Middle Ages. Hence in the agricultural districts many farmers, disheartened at the destruction wrought, abandoned their fields, while others restricted themselves to a system of temporary culture. Greeks and Goths fought for the dominion of Italy; her sons, alas! had little choice between the brutality of the sturdy Northmen, eastern cruelty and perfidy, and the ruinous depredations of God's Scourge.

It may be assumed that even public administration suffered from such evils. When the Paduans cautiously crept back to their homes, panic-stricken and ever ready for flight, the Roman laws were nominally reinstated, but, even apart from the fact of foreign domination, a great change had taken place. The predominant Goths, or the Lombards that soon took their place in opposition to the Greeks, could hardly be expected to submit themselves to the elaborate laws of a civilised people. And although the Lombards, who in 601 destroyed once more the little town founded by the Trojan fugitives, had adopted the enlightened policy of allowing everybody within their dominions to live under his own national and original code of laws, it was inevitable that they should establish a government of their own. Hence the seizure of two-thirds of the landed property and its distribution among the new masters according to the feudal system. A race in the infancy of civilisation and living under a half-patriarchal rule, similar to the constitution that Tacitus described in his *Germania*, proved itself a forcible, sometimes violent, but not unnecessarily cruel or unjust master.

The magistrates nominated in accordance with Roman law, if still existing, wielded but a nominal

power—a power limited to the narrow boundaries of the town walls; the district therefore soon became Lombard in fact as well as in law.

In the last years of the eighth century the Franks superseded the Lombards. Charlemagne attempted the hopeless reconstitution of the Roman Empire, an inexhaustible source of evils to the very cradle of the Empire. The Lombards had bestowed dukedoms and earldoms on their own kinsmen; originally Arians, they shrank from investing the spiritual magnates of the Catholic Church with worldly power. Their attitude had but slightly changed since they relinquished the Arian heresy. Moreover, in accordance with the character of their conquest, they had made the country districts, where their castles were constructed, the strongholds of their dominion; town life, even the rough and agitated town life of this period, was hateful to them. Consequently the greater part of the Latins, who were still left in these districts, either disappeared during their progressive depopulation, or migrated to the cities. The city became the natural refuge of Latin civilisation; the Latins being in proportion of three to one in the city, whereas they were but a minority of one to four in the country districts. A fruitful time of preparation began, during which the germs of a new national administration were developed.

Of course even the feudal dominion of Padua was invested in a Count; but, owing to manifold causes, it became a general tendency to bestow an ever-increasing power on the Bishops. The aversion of the feudal nobility to living in towns, and the necessity for the King and Emperor, who were frequently far away, to live in good harmony with the clergy of the Catholic Church (a double necessity springing from the pious tendencies of the time and from the

Roman and Early Mediæval Centuries

general Frankish policy) caused these feudal powers to devolve on the Bishops. The eternal quarrels between feudal families, the restive allegiance that some of them, having acquired great power, yielded to the sovereign, favoured a policy convenient to the monarch, who checked the arrogance of the nobles by concessions of power to the great ecclesiastics. They now became temporal as well as spiritual princes. Charlemagne and Louis (in 855 and 866) extended their protection to the Paduan church by subsequent diplomas and charters.

At the end of the ninth century the Hungarian invasions, checked in Germany, drifted southwards, spreading new terror and re-awakening the dreadful recollections of the plundering inroads of the Huns. Padua fell once more a prey to spoliation and fire; Berengarius, the Italian king, striving for the imperial crown, renewed the Carlovingian charters, which had been burnt in the great fire, granting larger power to the Bishop and allowing him to erect castles in order to defend cathedral and town from further devastation. Such grants were consistent with the usual policy of Berengarius, who mainly relied on the support of the clergy for his claim to the empire. Nor did the pious and ambitious Saxon Emperors pursue a different course. If the Bishop did not become an absolute feudal nobleman (for the county of Padua never ceased to exist), he was granted financial and judicial privileges;* his powers increased slowly but steadily in importance, and extended into the neighbouring district.

Thus the actual political and administrative powers

* As a matter of fact for a short time, during the Franco-Saxon domination, Padua belonged to the county of Monselice, but soon afterwards she regained her former position at the head of the district.

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rested with the feudal dignitaries, either lay or clerical, but another class of citizens was quietly rising to prominence, destined finally to supersede and dominate all others. Through successful trading or industry many families in Padua had acquired considerable wealth, some even great wealth; and wealth has always obtained political consideration, if only by assuming the protection of less successful traders, who will constantly side with their patrons. It should be mentioned that the Lombards, though respecting the national laws of the different elements among the people, introduced in Padua as elsewhere the right to cumulative proprietorship, as an analogue of the original agrarian communism, which had long prevailed in Germany. Thus grass lands, woods, moors and farms could be owned by associations, called *consortia*, *comunia* or *vicinia*, whose rules,* although not mentioned, may have existed and implied perhaps mutual help and support between the members. Hence, probably, early in the eleventh century, the trade-guilds were developed; they soon secured recognition and became a real and strictly-ordered ruling power amid the general misrule. The officials of these guilds, who were probably selected from the wealthiest members, and were therefore identical with the middle-class, unobtrusively insinuated themselves into public business. In some early documents, four or twelve or more "good men" (*boni homines*), trustworthy citizens, appear either as witnesses to some important transaction of the Bishop or Count or as assessors to the feudal courts. The Count intervenes as first of them (*primus inter pares*), and signs his name first; but evidently his

* The three different names imply slight, if important, differences, which we cannot examine here through lack of space.

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authority has been so greatly diminished as to be practically nominal. The *boni homines* are mostly public and imperial notaries and judges, thus acting as the delegates of the community and the depositories of the local customs, which, in fact, were the substitutes for a code of laws. During the epoch-making strife between Popes and Emperors, which raged at the end of the eleventh century and at the beginning of the twelfth for the right of investiture,* Padua was divided. The Bishop Odelrico followed the imperial party; in 1077 he begged protection for his town from Henry IV., who was just recovering from his humiliating experience at Canossa. In 1090 Henry IV. presented Padua to his faithful supporter, Bishop Milo, who belonged naturally to the party of the Anti-pope, Clement III. The Emperor with his Empress made a prolonged stay in Padua, and Clement once visited it. An inscription of the fourteenth century in the Paduan Episcopal palace recalls Henry and Berta as the benefactors of the town; Berta is even supposed, although erroneously, to be buried here; she died in Mayence and was entombed in Spiers. But the memory of Berta remained dear and fresh in Padua for many a century. Rolandino, the careful chronicler of the middle of the thirteenth century, tells us a charming little story about the Empress. A young peasant woman of Montagnone, a hamlet in the hills, knowing that the virtuous Empress liked to occupy her leisure by spinning, came to her seat bringing a quantity of thread as a present. The kind-hearted Berta was not offended at the simple maiden's offer and she instructed her officials to grant to the peasant girl and

* Rome claimed the exclusive right of selecting the Bishops, and the Emperors, who had invested them with so many feudal privileges, upheld their rights, fearing the loss of their vassals.

her heirs as much land in Montagnone as could be enclosed by the thread she had tendered. The following days the Empress was besieged by women bringing thread to her, all hoping for an equal reward; but Berta, finding that all her wealth could not have satisfied such greedy, if silent demands, answered: "Passato è il tempo che Berta filava" (the time is past when Berta spun). This story, although inconsistent with fact, since the Montagnone family is recorded as a wealthy one, long before this year, is worthy of remembrance since Berta's witty answer may still be occasionally heard from the people in the north of Italy.

Henry's presence in Padua indicates that his party in the city met with determined opposition. In fact, in 1100 the Catholic priests excommunicated Peter, the Bishop, because of his alliance with the imperial party, and the schismatic clergy, supported by the lances of the Emperor Henry V., expelled the Catholic priests. The feudal nobility and the higher clergy, mostly invested with rich privileges, sided with the Emperor and were opposed by the middle-classes, the monastic and the secular clergy. In the turmoil of perpetual strife privileges were lavishly bestowed on various classes by the Emperor, according to his need of balancing their power; probably he granted ampler rights to those associations known as *vicinia* or *consortia*, and thus the last step was taken which fostered the birth of the "Comune." The burghers began by associating with their neighbours and then bound the different associations in one. The dispute as to the investitures (1077-1122) greatly advanced a movement which had begun long before; and as that important contest is centred in Henry IV. and Pope Gregory VII., Berta, Henry's Empress, was credited in Padua with the grant of communal freedom.

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Rolandino, in one of his most charming pages, imagines a dialogue between a father and his child in the times of the terrible Ezzelino. The son, on asking what a massive, but abandoned-looking and broken car may be, is told by the father, of the glories of the *carroccio* which Berta presented to Padua.* And truly the *carroccio* was called "Berta" in Padua and "Bertazzola" (a diminutive of "Berta") in Cremona. It seems impossible to suggest a satisfactory explanation of this coincidence; whatever help Henry and Berta may have brought directly or indirectly to its rise, the "Comune" can only be traced to the stirring of the middle-class opposition to his imperial policy; thus drawing them to a closer union and creating a truly political association.

* The *carroccio* (from *carro*, car), a stoutly-built car, was the symbol of political freedom for the towns. It was a four-wheeled vehicle drawn by three to six pairs of oxen, on which was erected an altar, and the keenest knights collected around it. Shame befell the army that lost it in a battle. The defeat of Frederick of Swabia at Legnano by the hands of the allied municipalities of North Italy was, according to many historians, wrought principally through the selected body of knights that defended the *carroccio*.

CHAPTER II

Some Powerful Families and their Endowments of Churches and Monasteries— —Little Wars with Neighbours— Padua Joins the League of Verona and the First Lombard League (1050-1200)

“By such examples moved to unbought pains,
The people work like congregated bees;
Eager to build the quiet Fortresses
Where Piety, as they believe, obtains
From Heaven a *general* blessing. . . .”

WORDSWORTH, *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*.

TWO great powers contended for supremacy in the Middle Ages : Church and Empire. Both were more or less natural developments of ancient institutions. The first, a powerful hierarchy, which the peculiar conditions of the times and human greed had led through tortuous ways to worldly and temporal dominion; the second, the Holy Roman Empire, which since Charlemagne claimed to be the lawful heir of the Roman Cæsars, attempted to drape itself with the worn-out mantle that clothed Augustus' successors. In reality no one was entitled to this claim, as the real continuators of the Latin spirit were to be found where nobody seemed to suspect them—in the towns, where diligent citizens continued the traditions of the Roman magistrates, and were entrusted

with the government of their small communities. Perhaps the knowledge that Rome had arisen to world-power from a very humble origin, and the hope of emulating her achievements, prevented for centuries the people of Italy from being united in one single state. Rome, from her very beginning, had only been a municipality, and remained a municipality even when she could rely on the whole subjected world for the maintenance of her luxury and pomp. To a similar belief in a possible future greatness may be traced the origin of many an old statute in the archives of mediæval towns.

We saw in the preceding chapter how the commune was evolved amid feudal and clerical hostility; nay, it developed strictly within the feudal world, acquiring the rights of the Count, Duke or Bishop over inferior fiefs and assuming their duties in the face of the Empire. And it was from dynastic feuds between the Guelphs of Altdorf and the Hohenstaufen of Weiblingen (*"hie Welf"* and *"hie Weibling"* being, according to Otto von Freisingen's account, first used as war cries of the two noble families at the siege of Weinberg in 1140) that the two names arose which denoted different parties in communal life.*

In Italy, and especially in Padua, these names are devoid of all their original meaning. It is obvious that although the Estes were related to the Guelphs and politically inclined to the clerical supremacy of Rome, the fact is purely accidental and bore no relation to the great influence that the Estes always possessed in Padua.

We meet with Guelph and Ghibeline communes as we meet with Guelph and Ghibeline nobles; but after

* We may perhaps be forced to use these names in the course of our story, it is therefore important to avoid all misconceptions that may arise from a misunderstanding of their real meaning.

the Lombard League, by which the Church found means to secure her greatest triumph since Gregory VII.'s days, the cities that upheld their rights against the Empire were called Guelph, the others Ghibeline. And as the burghers tried to assimilate, and mostly succeeded in assimilating, the old feudal and foreign nobility, contriving to force them to live within the town for a few months a year, and rewarding them with all the more important offices in the government, the old familiar feuds were soon transferred from the country castles to the palaces towering over the streets in the town. Consequently, if any one family prevailed in a Guelph commune it was called Guelph, and its hereditary enemies were called Ghibelines for no other reason.

The Paduan chroniclers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, more or less tinged with anti-imperial misconceptions, when dealing with the terrible times of Ezzelino's monstrous tyranny, speak of this early period of republican life with a sincere yearning for a supposed golden age. They are taxed by some German historians, perhaps too severely, with wilful and prejudiced misrepresentation of facts. The reader who will consider the natural conservatism of old age, *laudatrix temporis acti*, the general lust of display following on the growth of wealth, and the consequent change in morality, which was in many cases becoming corrupt, will certainly take a milder view of their writings. No doubt Rolandino and the author of the *Annali di Santa Giustina** were honestly Guelphs, and we may well accept their statements without accusing them *a priori* of falsehood.

In short, as may be supposed, the period during which the republican constitution of the Paduan

* Professor A. L. Botteghi's researches prove him to be a Veronese who compiled from two Guelph sources.

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commune was evolved from feudalism bears many analogies to the same period in other cities.

Some of those noble knights who, in the previous centuries, had crossed the Alps, searching for milder climes, richer lands and an easier life than it had been their lot to enjoy in their old homes, had settled down in the Paduan district, and, in spite of wars that swept away their kinsmen by death and ruin, firmly maintained their grip on the conquered land, and shared amongst themselves the feudal power.

The historic origin of some Paduan families, whose names will often be mentioned in the subsequent pages, may be traced back to the middle of the eleventh century :—the Estes, one of whose members became the founder of the Royal dynasty now reigning in England ; the Camposanpiero and the Da Romanos (or Da Onaras) of Frankish birth ; and the Da Carraras, who were destined to rule Padua as independent princes. Many other names could easily be added, but these are, beyond comparison, the most important. And Rolandino prefaces his masterly work by naming these four families, whose feuds and fortunes had such an overwhelming influence in the development of historic events.

In the obscure story of these earliest times, of which only some scanty and isolated facts are noted by later chroniclers, it will be helpful to gain some precise information as to these elemental forces which are the effective causes of human action, and to sketch, as far as possible, the general physiognomy of society. To attempt anything more in the present state of our knowledge would be futile. Let us therefore remember the existence of these families struggling to uphold the power granted to them by the feudal system, and who must either decay and disappear from the first rank in a vain attempt to save the principle itself, or

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adapt themselves to new political conditions and maintain their power on other grounds. The communes, having derived their constitution mainly from the guilds, generally entrusted the government to a few citizens, who were called *boni homines*, *antiani*, or, later, by the Roman title of consuls. In Padua they are usually termed *boni homines*; they held office for six or twelve months, but the actual power rested always with the whole body of burghers, who assembled and acted together, without any delegation of their power. The representative system, in its modern form, appears only with the French Revolution.

Law was still ill-defined, as the autocratic system prevailed, yet the general tendency was towards the adoption of the Justinian code. The feudal nobility at length preferred assimilation by the commune to an eternal contest with its expanding power; the more so as they soon discovered that their condition was much the same within the strong city palaces as in the castles on the hills. Moreover, the burghers prided themselves on entrusting the public offices to the expert hands of those feudal nobles who had recognised the commune's pre-eminence. Thus the burghers were often led to war by the nobles, and were even frequently ruled by them during peace. But the towns were generally torn with internal dissensions, sometimes prompted by political differences, more often by feuds between noble families. Hence in Padua, later perhaps than in some other towns but certainly before 1174, the communal constitution underwent a considerable change, pregnant with future developments. Two hostile political parties, or at least parties pretending to be political, dividing the citizens, they agreed to invest some foreign but widely-renowned judge or nobleman with absolute and dictatorial power. The free burghers elected this foreign dictator for six

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months or a year, but surrounded him with many ingenious precautionary devices. The *Podesta*, as this magistrate was called, swore, on accepting office,* to respect the statutes and customs of Padua, to maintain peace between the citizens and the independence of the city from external enemies, to administer justice impartially, and before resigning office to submit his acts to a strict inquisition; he also gave bail and hostages for his good faith. And this appointed tyrant, the *Podesta*, under whose despotic rule the burghers agreed to live, in order to stay the raging political strife and to escape the horrors of continual civil wars, before reaching his official residence exiled the most turbulent elements, taking hostages from them, thus subjecting the citizens to a strange condition of voluntary oppression. He was surrounded by a council of citizens, *Anziani*, who gave him advice in the more important matters. We shall see how in a short time this magistracy degenerated to a real and tyrannical Signory.

Apart from the Latin element we note in the mediæval towns the higher feudal nobility, supported by its military strength and forming the real oppressive class, and lastly, but by no means the weaker, the clergy. The latter may be divided into two broad categories. The high magnates among the secular clergy naturally sided with the feudal nobility; bishops and archbishops were the issue of such families and were granted so much power that they may safely be identified with the high feudatories of the Empire. Simony, violence and all kinds of worldly corruption, unashamed because universal, prevailed amidst them, in spite of a few remarkable examples of ascetic virtue and true Christian

* The *Podesta* brought with him a certain number of judges, knights and servants. He could never accept presents or invitations to dinner, nor could he leave the town. Though a lawful tyrant, he was the prisoner of the burghers.

humility. The same general causes, which inspired and ruled the whole of mediæval life, acted on the lower ranks of priesthood: hence an antagonism towards the higher ecclesiastics occasionally bursting forth into open strife. More than once the Bishop of Padua had to defend his property and rights from the greed and pretences of the canons.

On the other hand, the new monastic orders, especially those inspired by Irish ascetism, which had converted the north of Europe, now strove unceasingly for the reformation of the Church. Fixing their principal seat on the Continent at Cluny, and in Italy at Vallombrosa,* they fostered a stricter regulation of the orders and clamoured for a wholly honest and Christian standard of life. Having to a certain extent the same immediate aims as the rising democracies, the monastic clergy favoured the new communal associations. But the higher clergy and the monastic orders alike acquired enormous wealth.†

Noblemen who had lived a disorderly life of violence and greed were convinced that a timely bestowal of their immense properties (wrenched from foes, friends

* In 1113 the famous abbot of Cluny, Ponzio, who was related to Pope Pascal II., returning from his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, founded in Campese, near Bassano, a monastery that was largely endowed by the family Da Romano, and whose name, Campese, gave credence to one of those peculiar mediæval etymologies, according to which it was derived from "Campo-Syon."

† Against the wealth and the secular power of the Church thundered for a score of years the eloquent voice of the Brescian monk, Arnaldo, twice condemned as a heretic, saved from Rome's wrath by some powerful and friendly nobleman's protection, and at last surrendered to the ecclesiastical authority by Frederick Barbarossa. Thus betrayed on political grounds, he was hanged in Rome in 1140; his ashes were flung into the Tiber; his name remained as a symbol of the reaction against the temporality and worldly wealth of the Church.

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and relatives by war, treachery and usurpation) to the Church, as a pious *post-mortem* donation, would save them from dire pains of hell. Wealthy merchants and money-lenders, terrified by the apocalyptic sermons of pious monks, endowed the churches with all their property. Most of the churches in the Paduan district owe their foundation to similar causes. At the same time, monasteries, convents and churches expended the greater part of their enormous revenues on the poorer classes, helping wayfarers and pilgrims and curing the sick and infirm. Extreme violence produces as a necessary consequence extreme piety. Our modern minds are perhaps justly prejudiced against a wealthy, grasping and political Church, but in the Middle Ages peculiar causes acted as we have seen, and were responsible for its existence. After all, the use that the spiritual powers made of their immense income went far to redeem its equivocal origin. Latin civilisation was never completely extinguished amongst the middle classes by barbarian inroads or foreign domination, and who shall say what might have been the result during these dark centuries had it not been for the piety and devotion of the spiritual orders of society to the poor and infirm?

The Paduan Church, which had been granted privileges by the Franks in 855, can boast of a hospital founded in 874 adjacent to Santa Giustina; on this a feudal protector of the episcopal see, Ermanric,* bestowed a number of slaves from Venice, where the slave trade then flourished; more grants and donations to the same institution are recorded in 928, 962 and

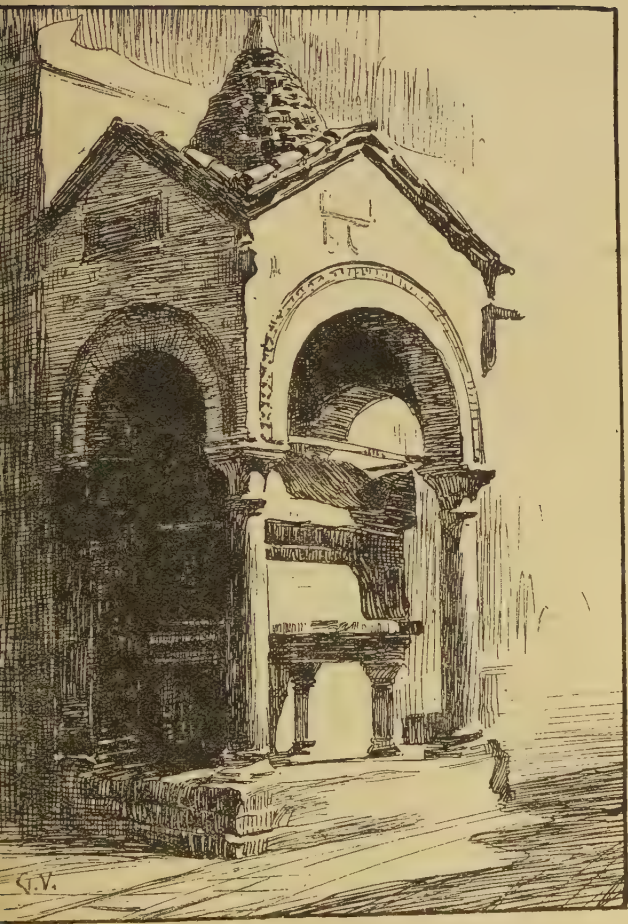
* Churches and episcopal sees used to put themselves under some powerful nobleman's protection, so that his arms might eventually check violent attacks on their rights and properties. He was called *Advocatus*, and this office was highly appreciated, being both honourable and profitable.

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1014; in 1026 grants were made to a church dedicated to St. Peter.

In 1027 Litaolfo Da Carrara, a wealthy nobleman, erected in the hamlet of Carrara, not far from Padua, the celebrated monastery of St. Stephen for the repose of his relatives' souls; most of the Carrarese family were subsequently buried there.

Another side of the mediæval character is noteworthy. Just as the cities, out of a strange deviation of classic feeling, boasted, rightly or wrongly, that each of them proceeded from some ancient and famous founder, and tried to overshadow each other by the prestige of these legendary ancestors, so by a pagan survival in Christianity they contrived to acquire more and more powerful saintly protectors. Nor were those zealous citizens over-scrupulous in the verification of saintly relics or the faithful ever doubtful of being misled. One may question the *bona-fides* of the former, but the latter were absolutely candid and sincere in their enthusiastic worship. All means were deemed proper for the acquisition of such treasures. Even German prelates did not shrink from long journeys in search of relics, and it is well known how some Venetians smuggled St. Mark's body from Alexandria. On the other hand, those towns that were unable to deprive their enemies of some precious relic managed to discover them within their own walls. Padua offers many examples of this same passion for relics. In 1050 a sudden holy apparition surprised the good Bishop Bernard during his peaceful sleep; a venerable saint pointed out to him where the bodies of St. Julian and of the holy Innocents were buried, and ordered him to take them from their unworthy hiding-places. The old Bishop at once rose and knelt down in fervent prayer. Next morning he ordered general prayers and fastings to propitiate God and the Saints; three long



TOMB OF ANTENOR

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days the Paduans obediently and devoutly fasted and prayed ; on the fourth, the Bishop donned his pontifical robes and, surrounded by the whole Paduan clergy, nobles and people, in great pomp, with solemn devotion, singing hymns and litanies, he repaired to the Church of St. Giustina, wherein, according to the nocturnal revelation, the search had to be instituted. And lo, between the altars dedicated to St. Prosdocimo and to St. Giustina, after a short work of excavation, two big tombs appeared, iron girt, which contained the bodies. Then, with sudden inspiration, the Bishop proceeded with the digging towards the entrance gate ; his enterprise was rewarded by the unexpected discovery of two other tombs, containing the bodies of St. Maximus and St. Felicita. The town was highly elated at these discoveries, although already very richly endowed with patrons and relics, and these minor saints, newly brought to light, could hardly expect to supersede either St. Prosdocimo or St. Giustina, who still remained her patron saints.

In fact, according to local and Venetian legends, St. Mark himself evangelised and won for Christianity these north-eastern provinces of Italy, but his mission here was interrupted, as St. Peter called him to Rome ; he committed therefore the charge of prosecuting his task to his beloved pupil, St. Prosdocimo. The latter succeeded in healing through his prayers thousands of poor people suffering from plague, just outside the town, whose king, Vitaliano, hearing of it, at once decided to be converted to the Christian faith, and the whole of his people followed his example. But Giustina, his only daughter, felt so deeply the spiritual fascination of the new religion that she devoted her life entirely to it, and a few years later preferred to endure martyrdom rather than consent to the overtures of the Emperor Maximian.

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Hence Prosdocimo and Giustina shared the honour of furthering Padua's interests in heaven until, in 1232, St. Anthony's canonisation deprived them of the heavier part of this burden.

Bishop Bernard's discovery was recognised and blessed in 1052 by Pope Leo IX., who was on his journey to Hungary, and was afterwards honoured by the Church with a feast instituted on the 2nd of August.

A few years later, in 1075, St. Prosdocimo and St. Giustina ran a serious risk of losing most of their privileges in Padua, the dramatic and miraculous discovery of St. Daniel's body adding nominally another patron to the town, although, in fact, this saintly person never enjoyed half the popularity either of his predecessors or of St. Anthony.*

A poor blind man from Tuscany, who had been promised restoration to health by sleeping within the Church of St. Giustina,† had many visions in that church, and on awakening was restored to sight. He claimed to have been miraculously healed by St. Daniel, who had appeared to him during his sleep. Nor was the Bishop Odelrico slow in seizing the opportunity; he commanded a general fasting, and amidst great exultation and joy on Christmas Day of 1075, exactly under the paving stone on which the poor Tuscan had been lying, a tomb was discovered, wherein the body of a Bishop was found in full pontifical attire, fixed between a wooden board and a marble

* It may be mentioned that during the Carrarese domination some of the coins bore on one side St. Daniel's effigy.

† These miraculous healings by sleeping in a church, though very frequent in the ignorant Middle Ages, are merely a revival of an old Greek custom, sufferers being relieved from their pains by lying from sunset to sunrise in the temple of Æsculapius.

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stone by many long nails, which pierced the whole of his body. A sweet scent emanated from the tomb when it was opened, thus witnessing to the saintliness of the body. Next day a long procession accompanied the Saint, who was to be entombed in the cathedral; but after a short time, and at a certain point, a terrible hurricane arose, the wind and snow and hail blinding everybody; the procession was compelled to stop in terror, fearing the Saint's evident wrath. Prayers availed nought, but on Bishop Odelrico pledging himself to erect on that very spot a chapel in honour of St. Daniel, his wrath was appeased; the whirlwind ceased, the sun burst forth from the clouds, and finally, amidst the greatest excitement, the procession was able to reach the cathedral.

Men yearn for saintly intercessors and are especially prone to all kinds of hard penance, and to deep devotion, when their lives are harassed and darkened by the frequent outburst of violent passions. Cruelty and fear favoured, as we have seen, the gradual increase of the possessions of the Church. Never were the donations for spiritual purposes so large as in 1117, the year of the tremendous earthquake that terrified humanity in a great part of Europe but mainly in Germany and in Italy. Verona was levelled to the ground; Padua badly injured from the violent shock. Most of the buildings in the latter town were wrecked, even the cathedral and St. Giustina were practically destroyed; nevertheless the cathedral was soon rebuilt, though as the work of restoration was completed in seven years it must have been but a modest little church. Anyhow the year 1117 remains one of the first recorded in the real history of the town, the starting-point for modern history, a terrible beginning of a new life. As the earthquake had ruined the buildings, unceasing rains, floods and whirlwinds de-

stroyed all the crops; despair and misery prevailed throughout the district, and upon all these calamities came, according to all probability, a fierce siege by the Emperor, who at the end stormed the already wrecked town, and plundered it, as a punishment for its alliance with Vicenza against himself. This very alliance shows us how far the emancipation of the young communes from the feudal and central authority had progressed.

Padua was still a poor little city, far removed from the pomp and glory she had boasted in Roman times; but the discipline of the trade-guilds was restoring order within the town and preparing institutions more in accordance with Latin traditions and the new social and political conditions. They checked feudal misgovernment; the citizens' wealth grew steadily, together with their authority, and even in the rural districts a great economical transformation was taking place. The beautiful plain, which had seduced with her loveliness the invading Cymbrians and filled the cars of the plundering Huns, had, since the continuous barbarian inroads, been forsaken by the plough. Bushes, marshes, inextricable jungle covered the land, that once yielded corn, wine and fruit in plenty. During the tenth and the eleventh centuries, mainly through the endeavours of the monks, who strove to obtain larger profits from their ever-growing landed property, prompted by the knowledge of the ancient fertility of the soil, agriculture and economic farming were endowed with a new life. Woods were cut down, marshes drained; once more the slow and majestic step of the oxen drawing the plough became the symbol of Paduan wealth. Such a revolution in economic conditions will reveal to us and form the effective cause of the new course of public life. It is impossible here to follow the whole development of

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the commune, but we may direct attention to a few instances as indicating the progress of the new organisation.

Apart from the league between Padua and Vicenza which had provoked the Emperor's revenge in 1117 a few more facts are known to history. In 1055 Henry III. had freed the farmers of Pieve di Sacco from serfdom. In 1077 long judicial proceedings are recorded between the monks of St. Giustina and the citizens as a corporate body, each side laying claim to some financial and market rights on the Zairo, within the town and in the adjacent district; but the monks were successful in their suit. The representatives of the citizens presented the Bishop with a wand as a token of obedience, and the Bishop handed it over to the Abbot; nevertheless, the citizens were allowed the right of digging stones from the Zairo in payment of a debt to the Venetians. Hereby we learn that even before this year the Paduans were capable of a collective contract, and of appearing in court as a corporate body.

Before 1104 Padua was divided on religious grounds, as some of her citizens sided with the papal and some with the imperial party during the political schism that disturbed the Church. For a while fortune favoured the latter, mainly through the help of the imperial army, which succeeded in establishing Milo and his successor Peter, both schismatic prelates, in the Paduan see; Sinibald, their opponent, living obscurely in Este under the protection of the Marquis of Este. At last, in 1104, after the council of Guastalla, Sinibald was enabled to return to his bishopric, Peter now and again storming down from Pieve di Sacco and for short periods unseating him, till in 1111, during the first months of the rule of Henry V., Peter could once more settle down in Padua. In the pre-

ceding year the Paduans had been fighting against the Venetians in a battle near Torre delle Bebbe,* but the fortune of Mars favoured the islanders, and on the 4th of October 1110, five to six hundred Paduans were dragged prisoners to St. Mark, and many others died in battle. This was the beginning of a long feud between the two neighbouring towns, a feud which Henry V., with the consent of Ordelaaffo Falier, Doge of Venice, tried in vain to compose by his arbitration. He interfered once more with Paduan affairs in 1117, as we have seen. But if the Paduans were then in league with Vicenza, a few years later, in 1140, a quarrel arose between the two cities. The Vicentians, probably allied with the Veronese, by means of a temporary dam diverted the course of the Bacchiglione at Longare, directing it towards Este, and in the fierce battle that ensued the Paduans were again badly beaten, and the flames of war menacing a general conflagration, various Bishops and the Pope himself intervened.

Three years later another defeat is recorded in Paduan annals. The citizens had for agricultural purposes cut the banks of the Brenta in various places, so as to let the waters flow into the lagoon at St. Hilary; † but the effect of this measure was to dry up some of the channels and flood some of the marshes, thus damaging the property of Venetian landowners and injuring the trade formerly carried on through the channels. Venice sent at once an embassy to ask for a reversion to the previous condition of

* Torre delle Bebbe lies between the rivers Adige and Brenta, not far from Chioggia.

† St. Hilary was then a famous and rich monastery with an abbey, wherein five doges were buried, a village and a road leading to Padua; the latter was last repaired by the Carrarese. Now everything has disappeared beneath the invading marshes.



THE BACCHIGLIONE FROM PONTE DEI MOLINI

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things. "We Paduans," was the proud answer, "do not receive orders from Venice." The quarrel had its natural consequence in the battle of Tomba, where the islanders mastered the mainlanders, slaughtering a considerable number of them and taking some four hundred prisoners.

Thus the life of the new-born commune was troubled by wars against neighbours, in order to establish its own existence and to secure recognition of its independence, and by the continuous strife caused by the never-ceasing quarrels between Church and Empire.

The commune was far from refusing obedience to the Emperor, whom it recognised as the source of all its powers. As a faithful vassal it sent its militia, in 1158, to meet Frederick Barbarossa, who, descending from Trient, marched on Brescia, and, after its surrender, besieged Milan. The Paduans were still with the imperial army when Milan was compelled to implore peace from the sovereign.

When Barbarossa, in 1160, convoked a council in Pavia to pacify, as he pretended, the Church, divided by the schism, or rather to enhance the anti-Pope's (Victor III.) chances of universal recognition by the menacing presence of the imperial army in Northern Italy, Giovanni Cazio, the Paduan prelate, answered the imperial summons with the other Bishops of Venetia; but, as soon as he felt safe from German menace, he withdrew his approbation from the acts of the council and openly joined the party of Pope Alexander III.

Frederick's policy is well known. It constitutes the last attempt to restore the Holy Roman Empire on Charlemagne's lines. Other German Emperors had tried to reduce the power of the great feudal noblemen by favouring the claims of the lesser nobility and the people. Now the communes had taken the

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place of the feudal lords, and Barbarossa came as an avenger of the smaller communes and of the lesser nobles against the predominance of the greater cities. This policy implied naturally an active, if not open, canvassing of all possible support, in order to further common action against the now daring and rebellious burghers.

In Padua, Marsilio da Carrara, who sided with Frederick, was granted a charter which conceded to him many privileges; on the other side the Estes had to endure some restrictions because of their Guelph inclinations. The following year the Paduan Bishop was excommunicated (1161) by the schismatic congress of Lodi; but he bought his reconciliation with the Emperor by the renunciation of all feudal claims on Pieve di Sacco and on Rocca di Pendise.

Meanwhile, Barbarossa's anachronous policy meeting an ever-increasing opposition, the Emperor vainly sought to further his plans by cruel repressions. The unnecessary severity of his chastisement baulked the whole of his enterprise. The burghers, who had tried to throw off the oppressive imperial domination, were punished with inhuman harshness, Frederick being, from his point of view, just but pitiless. These cruelties were resented as usurpations; the very character of the rebellion changed; it was no longer a struggle between the sovereign allied with the inferior nobility against the communes; it became a terrible drama, wherein the envious and passionate hatred of the smaller towns helped the rigidly feudal Emperor to a violent revenge on the larger communes, who had taken advantage of Barbarossa's faults to change the rebellion into a national war, that suppressed all internal dissensions in view of a great national danger. Venice soon detected the threat to her own independence involved in the imperial policy, and

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adroitly succeeded in banding together the burgesses of Padua, Vicenza, Treviso and Verona in the so-called League of Verona. The imperial vicars, under whose imprudent rule the towns had become restive, were expelled. In Padua this event was long remembered, connected as it was with the adventurous life of a woman who soon became the centre of many a romantic legend. Her son carried extravagance to such a pitch that his soul was doomed by Dante to eternal punishment. Black hounds chase him in the thorny forest, and as the poet says :

“in quel che s’ appiatto’ miser li denti,
e quel dilaceraro a brano a brano ;
poi sen portar quelle membra dolenti.”

(*Inf.*, XIII. 127-130.)

His mother, Speronella, daughter of Dalesmano Dalesmanini, had been, after many vicissitudes, granted the investiture of a great episcopal fief in Pieve di Sacco on the 7th January 1152. In her younger days she married Jacopo da Carrara, and soon afterwards, with the help of her unscrupulous brother, cancelled her previous marriage, in order to become the lawful wife of Pagano della Torre, Barbarossa’s former vicar in Padua. According to an utterly unfounded tradition, Pagano is said to have stolen by force the unwilling Speronella from Jacopo, thus provoking the long-nursed popular discontent to a violent outburst ; open rebellion is said to have followed, the mob storming the Rocca di Pendise, where Pagano had sheltered himself, and setting at liberty the innocent Speronella, who thus personified the daring expulsion of the imperial vicar from Padua. In truth, Jacopo, who belonged, as we have seen, to a strictly Ghibeline family, followed Pagano in his exile, and Speronella must have gone with them ; she was therefore not responsible, either

directly or indirectly, for any incitement to revolt ; nay, she was clearly unworthy of posthumous fame.

Speronella had married seven husbands before reaching her twenty-second year, and though it may be assumed that her great wealth excited the violent greed of mediæval nobles, thus dooming her to an adventurous life, there were traits in her character which display her as a wholly disreputable woman, unduly flattered by servile poets. During the winter of 1165 Padua, together with the other towns of the League of Verona, stirred up such opposition to the Emperor that the Paduan air was rendered too hot for Pagano and his supporters long before May, when Rocca di Pendise was destroyed ; probably he was expelled by force, but Speronella had nothing to do with it, and soon afterwards became Pagano's lawful wife.

The Emperor resented deeply what he considered a sedition of rebellious subjects, but he did not consider himself, at the time, strong enough to force them into obedience ; he led his followers to the river Adige, in view of the hostile camp, but seeing the stout army of the burghers he speedily retired to Lombardy. Barbarossa's withdrawal constituted a great triumph for the new republics ; the unassuming league of a few towns had severely checked his policy. Nor were the Paduans slow in perceiving the significance of this moral victory, and in the first fervour of their patriotic enthusiasm they decided to erect a communal palace as an eternal monument of their independence. Between the years 1164 and 1166 the Palazzo della Ragione (Salone) was built, in its main lines identical with the structure we may still admire after many historical and artistic vicissitudes.

The commune, which was formed as a reaction of the burghers against feudal oppression, had now, on

Padua joins the Lombard League

the whole, overpowered the foreign nobles, Lombard, Saxon or Frank. But power in unorganised societies is synonymous with oppression and usurpation. Smaller towns and weaker families had to bend before the larger and wealthier communes. The former became the natural supporters of the imperial authority, which appeared to them as the avenger of their destroyed rights. As the association of individuals had vanquished the feudal nobility, now the association of towns in face of a single enemy, the highest feudal authority, which attempted to weaken some of its vassals, prepared the triumph of the communes.

The Lombard towns, prompted by religious reasons as well as by political and social antagonism to the Emperor's plans, banded themselves together in a league that included the communes of the Veronese alliance, and constituted a real stumbling-block in Barbarossa's path.

The first act of the league took place in Pontida (Bergamo), where the representatives of all the towns swore to maintain the objects of the alliance. Among them were the Paduan delegates (1167). Ezzelino il Balbo da Romano was, with Anselmo da Dovara of Cremona, consul of the league and presided at the meeting of Modera (10th October 1173), but they were released from their office when the army of the confederates, comprising also the Paduan contingent, raised the siege of Alexandria by Barbarossa, and cut his small army to pieces at Legnano (1175).

Thus Padua in Venetia, even as Milan in Lombardy, or Bologna and Florence in the Midlands, moved in a strictly Guelph line, from which by force alone and for short periods they were to deviate in the future.

Frederick came in 1177 to some understanding with certain of the communes, and soon afterwards

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deemed it expedient to submit to a five years' cessation of hostilities, previous to the general peace of Constance in 1183.

Meanwhile Padua made her way as head of the towns of the Marches. The commune intervened in the struggle between the Da Camino family and the city of Treviso, which endeavoured to absorb them, and the citizens entered into an alliance with Conegliano, Feltre, Belluno, Oderzo and Ceneda on 9th and 10th June 1178. Ezzelino il Balbo (the Stutterer), who had long before accepted the citizenship of Treviso and intrigued to remove all possible obstacles to his future absolute predominance, practically led Treviso during this war. The Paduan contingent of troops, summoned to help their allies, were beaten at Feltre and Conegliano; their assault on the castle of Noale failed, but, according to mediæval tactics, they ravaged Ezzelino's lands round Godego, destroying the castle of that name; the Carrarese territory was then pillaged, and Ezzelino, who had attempted to check this plundering Paduan expedition, was probably beaten and contrived to make good his retreat. At length, during the Marquis Obizzo d'Este's *podesteria*, the peace was signed in Verona (20th January 1181).

It was a most honourable peace for Padua, whose prestige was so greatly enhanced during the last years amongst her neighbours as to be chosen to arbitrate between the city of Conegliano and the family Da Camino in 1182. Finally all these wars were brought to an end by the peace of Constance, which was vainly supposed to settle all internal differences. In that act (1183) Padua, as was the case with most of the communes, was granted the recognition of her independence, thus gaining the right of electing her consuls and enjoying at last the privileges of imperial law.

CHAPTER III

Rise of the Da Romano Family — Ezzelino III. — The Reign of Terror—The Guelph Reaction and the Downfall of the Tyrant (1200- 1266)

“ In quella parte della terra prava
Italica, che siede intra Rialto
E le fontane di Brenta e di Piava,
Si leva un colle e non surge molt’alto,
Laonde scese già una facella
Che fece alla contrada grande assalto.”

DANTE, *Paradiso*, IX. 25-30.

THE founder of this powerful family was probably Ezzelo, a knight in the army led by the Emperor Conrad II. (1036). Being endowed with the feudal possession of Romano and Onara, two castles in the neighbourhood of Bassano, not far from Padua, he and his descendants were called, as was usual at that period, by the name of their possessions. Whether a scion of a royal family or a simple knight, he seems to have courted success by his able and shrewd policy. It was no wonder therefore if, having forcibly acquired considerable power, and threatening to extend it over the possessions of the Bishop of Vicenza in the Bassanese territory, the latter endeavoured to save them in part by bestowing on his dangerous neighbour the lordship of Bassano itself. This castle remained

henceforth the principal seat of the Da Romano family, though other manors were bestowed on them by the favour of the Emperors; a favour which soon put Ezzelino in a condition to endow churches and monasteries, as he did in 1074, giving grants to S. Felice of Verona, and in 1085 (29th April) to the abbey of S. Eufemia di Villanova. Large donations witness both to sincere piety and great wealth. Ezzelino's sons, Alberico and Ezzelino, were the principal founders of the monastery of Campese (*see* p. 24) and married two wealthy ladies. Ezzelo died without children, and Ezzelino, called, from his faulty elocution, *il Balbo* (the Stammerer), succeeded to all the fiefs of the Da Romanos. We have seen how this nobleman was connected with many events in the history of Padua, and that he enjoyed such consideration as to be chosen consul of the Lombard League. Faithless, as were all the statesmen of his time, he had rendered a restive obedience to the Emperor Frederick on his first descent, and had later, after his re-admission at court, appeared among the leading vassals on all important occasions, fighting next to his sovereign during his punitive expeditions against the rebellious burghers of North Italy. Yet, as soon as he perceived the most powerful of the communes banded together in a strong and warlike league, he managed to withdraw from the imperial ranks, probably prompted to this act by the position he had acquired in the communes of Vicenza and Treviso, which had both elected him their *podesta*. When the treaty of the peace of Constance was drafted Ezzelino was granted a free pardon.

In order to explain subsequent events it seems necessary to mention that Ezzelino *il Balbo*'s daughter, Cunizza, was married to Tisone Camposampiero, a very noble Paduan, thus linking together two families

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whose ferocious deeds subsequently filled the Marches with horror.

Ezzelino's son, another Ezzelino, surnamed *il Monaco* (the Monk), had been, about 1170, deserted by his ill-famed wife, *Speronella*, and was now anxious to contract a suitable marriage, in order to gain the support of powerful relations and to secure the continuation of his family. One day his brother-in-law, *Tisone*, asked Ezzelino *il Balbo's* opinion of a match that had been secretly proposed to him for one of his two young sons. The maiden, *Cecilia* of *Abano*, was an extremely wealthy orphan entrusted to the care of an old servant of her family, *Spinabello*. The latter had offered her to *Tisone*, provided that a certain sum of money were his reward. *Tisone* asked time to consider the matter in order to take Ezzelino *il Balbo's* advice. The latter, on being informed, delayed his answer, deeming the match suitable to his own twice-deserted son.* He sent meanwhile secretly for *Spinabello* and allured him, by a larger reward, to consent to the expeditious and informal marriage of his ward with Ezzelino *il Monaco*. The *Camposampieros*, concealing their resentment, swore to avenge themselves bitterly of this treacherous compact, and one day *Gerardo Camposampiero* meeting *Cecilia*, who had now become his aunt, in the vicinity of one of his castles, decoyed her, under pretence of doing her honour, into a distant apartment and there violated her. Thus the *Camposampieros* compassed their base revenge on a helpless woman, who had further to suffer a contemptuous divorce from the enraged husband. The latter refrained from any sign of resentment against the *Camposampieros*, watching his chance. Thus the terrible feud between the two powerful families had begun.

* His first wife had been *Agnes*, daughter of *Azzo VI. d'Este*; his second, *Speronella*.

The Camposampieros were, during all these events, upholding their dominant position in Padua with the support of the Estes, who for many scores of years regarded themselves as the feudal and Guelph paladins of the commune. And as the Camposampieros were, rightly or not, termed Guelphs, their enemies, the Da Romanos, were designated Ghibelines. Ezzelino's later attitude towards Padua must be judged in connection with the position that his bitter foes maintained in the town. The elder Ezzelino in fact hardly appears again on the political scene, having passed from this life about 1184, shortly before his son's fourth marriage. The latter, mistrusting the ladies of Venetia after his two sadly unsuccessful experiences, chose for wife a relative of the Counts of Mangona, in Tuscany, called the Rabbiosi (Men of Wrath), a cultivated lady, fond of astrological science and clever in foretelling the course of future events. She bore him his tragically famous sons, and was herself later the heroine of a Mephistophelian mediæval tragedy.*

As *podesta* of Treviso, Ezzelino intervened heartily in the struggle between Vicenza and Padua, siding of course with the former town. These neighbouring towns were frequently at war with each other, yet the occasion of this outburst of hostilities (1188) is worth mentioning since all contemporary chroniclers give a full account of it.

The Paduans, having several times complained that certain roads leading to their town were rendered insecure by the unceasing robberies committed by a

* Albertino Mussato, historian, poet, humanist and politician, a stubborn partisan of communal freedom, composed a Latin tragedy, the "*Ecerinis*," wherein he imagined Adelaide to have been surprised at night by the Evil Spirit, thus explaining by the offspring of such a father and mother, belonging to the Rabbiosi, the violence of hatred shown by the sons, and especially by Ezzelino the Tyrant, whose life is the main subject of the tragedy.

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daring gang of highwaymen, who found shelter within the walls of the Vicentine castle, Montegalda, and having failed to obtain any satisfaction from the magistrates of Vicenza, sent a strong army of burghers against the castle, levelled it to the ground and hanged the robbers. This invasion of their territory was deeply and promptly resented by the Vicentines; and public resentment in these ages was not delayed by long, diplomatic protests. In haste a number of Vicentines rushed to Longare, where the river Bacchiglione divides into two streams, one flowing to Padua, the other to Este, took up a strong position next to this important point, fortified it with a wooden tower and diverted by means of a wooden dam the whole of the waters towards Este, thus leaving Padua, which was not then irrigated from the Brenta,* altogether bereft of water. The Paduans retaliated by an expedition on Longare, which ended in a defeat. Many Paduans were taken prisoners and dragged into foul dungeons, from which they could only be rescued by large ransoms.

Peace was never lasting in those days, and the relations between Treviso, Vicenza and Padua were more often the result of the sharp blade of the sword than the conciliatory eloquence of an ambassador. The burghers seemed to seek in these wars rather the greater damage of their enemies than their own ulterior advantage. The hostile armies did not attempt to protect their territories from the ravaging inroads of the enemy, but more often avoided an encounter, whose issue it was impossible to foresee, and satisfied their hatred by devastating the lands of their foes.

* In 1314 the Paduans, having often experienced the hardship of lack of water brought on them in similar circumstances by their foes, diverted to Padua a stream of the river Brenta, by means of a channel called Brentella.

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Paduans and Vicentines steadily adopted this practice, and it would be useless as well as tiresome to recall all their expeditions.

The Paduans retaliated on Treviso for the help she had lent in 1188 to Vicenza by supporting, in 1193, Belluno and Feltre, who were striving to shake off the oppression of Treviso; the quarrel, after much purposeless devastation, ended by an arbitration (18th October 1193) brought about by the consuls of Mantua and Verona, who seem to have considered Ezzelino to be the promoter of all these wars. This very judgment is an evidence of the predominant position acquired by Ezzelino in Treviso; still, the restless nobleman did not let slip any chance of furthering his own interests either in Padua or in Vicenza; but for a time success, though courted, did not crown his enterprises. In Vicenza a premature discovery of his plots led to his exile. He retaliated at once, fell upon Bassano, slew the Vicentine garrison, and pledged the castle to Padua in exchange for financial and military aid. Yet, as we have seen, the Paduans were not his friends; in truth, he had often endeavoured to obtain a legal revenge on the Camposampieros from the communal magistrates for the base injury wrought by one of them on his former wife; but although he had a number of partisans among the burghers, the nobility supported the Camposampieros and the Estes, both families, in spite of near relationship to Ezzelino, bitterly hostile to him. By his move on Bassano he succeeded in creating bad blood between the Paduans and Vicentines. The latter complained to the magistrates of the still existing Lombard League, but the Paduans bluntly refused obedience to the Tribunal. In vain Vicenza tried the fortune of Mars; her first attempts were frustrated, and Ezzelino, in order to come to a decision, pledged

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even his castle of Onara to the Paduans, who gladly helped him, hoping thus to mollify his resentment against the Camposampieros; the Marquis of Este now joined in the alliance against Vicenza; in a battle at Carmignano the Vicentines were utterly vanquished, and their *carroccio* was led triumphantly to Padua, where it remained a target for the insults and contempt of the mob. (Autumn 1197.)

But during the subsequent year the Vicentines, aided by the Veronese, seemed to gain the upper hand, and Ezzelino was reconciled with them, regardless of his allies. The betrayed Paduans turned their wrath against him and levelled his castle of Onara to the ground, which was never rebuilt (1198).

Soon afterwards Ezzelino found means of intruding into Veronese affairs; in truth, this prince appears to have had a particular gift for furthering his own interests by the internal feuds of quarrelsome factions; the weaker the government and the stronger the factions in a town, the greater was Ezzelino's chance; and he was quick in seizing it. The failure of his various attempts to secure a prominent position in the commune speaks well for Padua's strongly-organised government. In Verona, on the contrary, he became in a little time the leader of the so-called Ghibeline party. Meanwhile he had an opportunity of retaliating on the Camposampieros by abducting a maiden of their family, who bore him a child and was then shamefully abandoned. In the interest of his infant daughter Ezzelino laid claim to some of the possessions of the Camposampieros. The Vicentines and Paduans, thus dragged into the quarrel, stood once more against each other. The intervention of the Church, however, stayed the strife without allowing Ezzelino's claim,

which greatly increased his bitter feeling against the Paduans (1204).

Later, he continually intermeddled in Veronese affairs, but his earlier successes were checked by the skill of the Marquis Azzo Este and by a long illness from which he did not recover till 1209, thus enabling Azzo to wield supremacy even in Vicenza and to ravage the Da Romano estates. Ezzelino hindered his further progress by securing the aid of the Trivisians, and came, still in an indifferent state of health, to the rescue of Bassano. The war threatened to prolong itself, when Otto IV., the new King of the Romans, not yet crowned with the imperial diadem, reaching Verona, summoned to his presence both the marquis and Ezzelino (1209); and the latter remained with him during the whole of his journey through Italy. The Emperor strove to reconcile the two great noblemen and showed marked signs of favour to Ezzelino by investing him with the dignity of imperial legate in Vicenza. Thus Ezzelino, who was already *podesta* of the town, became the real master, and proved himself to be a stern and hard ruler, revengeful and pitiless. An army led against him by the Marquis Azzo and by Count Sambonifacio was scattered by him at Lonigo (1212).

After Azzo's death (18th November 1212) Padua began to quarrel with her powerful neighbour, the young Marquis Aldrovrandino d'Este. The cause can probably be traced to the desire of the Paduan commune to ensure its predominance over this rural nobleman, but only the most futile reason could be given for hostilities. The whole militia of the city was called upon, and even Ezzelino's help was entreated. He was delighted to assist the commune, even though it had not been friendly to him, against the loathed Este. The Marquis was unable to stand against this combined

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attack,* and was compelled to lower his pride and swear obedience to the commune, and become a citizen of the town. The result of the war dispels any doubt about the real aim pursued by the Paduans throughout the war. (1213.) Padua was now following her usual policy of reducing to submission the rural nobles, while endeavouring to maintain the *equilibrium instabile* among the factions in the neighbouring towns in order to ensure her predominance. Yet hardly a year had passed when a fresh war broke out.

In warlike times even amusements and festivities assume a bellicose appearance. Tournaments were the characteristic pastime of the Middle Ages. In the Trivisian Marches, called Marca Gioiosa by chroniclers and troubadours, to signify her courteous and somewhat frivolous and pleasure-loving habits, variations of the same theme became popular, the original idea springing probably from the widely-spread *Roman de la Rose*. A wooden castle was erected in 1214 at Treviso, the walls being lined with precious furs, velvets, golden tissues and silks, and decorated with gorgeous flowers. Dames and damsels defended this castle of Love (*castello d'Amore*), bearing on their heads, instead of the steel and leather equipment of the knight, golden coronets set with jewels. Scents, flowers, sweets, cakes and Eastern spices were used as missiles on both sides. Young noblemen of Padua, Treviso, Vicenza and Venice moved to the assault, borrowing the tactics of real war, and a court of experienced knights acted as umpires, in order to decide to which city the castle should surrender. The men attacked

* The "Gatta di S. Andrea," as the lion standing in front of the church of the same name is called, recalls the extraordinary prowess shown by the inhabitants of "quartiere di S. Andrea" during this expedition.

under the flags and banners of their several communes, and it is recorded that the Paduans and Venetians made the keenest assault and came nearest to success, the Paduans showering into the walls their renowned pastries (even now the town prides herself upon them), and the Venetians, following the example set by Jove when he conquered Danaïds by a shower of gold, endeavoured to vanquish their fair enemies in the same manner. In the excitement of the battle a banner of the Venetian party was knocked down by the Paduans and a serious struggle ensued, during which the banner was trampled upon and torn to pieces. Bloodshed would have been inevitable if the referees had not brought the feast to a hasty end. The Paduan commune, anticipating a bitter revenge for the insult inflicted on the proud Venetians, moved an army against the castle of Bebbe, near Chioggia; but the garrison resisted gallantly till a fleet of small Venetian barques, sailing up the channel, came to the rescue and utterly vanquished the Paduans; the commune had to hand over twenty-five youths to the Signory to be tried for insulting the Venetian flag (1214).

The continuous state of war, or, at least, of unsettled peace of these times, excited the zeal of the devout to persevering attempts to improve the relations between states and between the parties within each state. As the yearning for peace was naturally proportionate to the lack of it, these religious persons were often entrusted with diplomatic missions. Three monks, later canonized, excelled in these endeavours to make peace in the Marches, Friar Giordano Forzate', prior of S. Benedetto in Padua, Friar Giovanni da Vicenza, and, later, St. Anthony, the patron saint of Padua. They craved for an improvement in the general conditions of life; their compassionate hearts were grieved by the only too frequent sight of ravaged lands, burnt

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houses, pillaged castles and mutilated men. Often the belligerent army fell upon a hamlet of peaceful farmers who were quite unaware of the differences at stake; yet these very people endured the worse hardships of war. The sight of such misery, roofless families, helpless old men, abandoned and orphaned children, insulted mothers and maidens, provoked and enforced deeper emotion than that of soldiers killed or wounded in battle. Friar Giordano, by his ardent piety, succeeded in inclining the hardened hearts of the Vicentines and of the Da Romanos to peace, and the treaty was sworn in Padua, both by Ezzelino and by his son, who is now called Ezzelinello. Yet this solemn peace was doomed by the faithlessness of both parties (1218).

In 1219 a peculiar event witnesses to the importance acquired by Padua. The Bishops of Belluno and of Feltre, having been vested by the Emperor with the fief of their bishoprics, were plotted against by the Trivisians, who claimed the overlordship of these lands and at the same time were instigated and led by the enterprising Ezzelino. They subjected the vassals of the Patriarch of Aquileia in Friuli. These ecclesiastics sought the protection of Padua, and obtained it by paying a certain sum of money, becoming citizens of Padua, and erecting also a suitable palace for their residence in the town. Hence Paduan intervention was justified, as being the proper protection extended by a well-ordered commune to its citizens. The usual destruction of property followed until a provisional peace was arranged (1220).

After a few more struggles in Vicenza the elder Ezzelino was granted, by Pope Honorius III., the right of retiring to monastic life in his own castle of Muda (though he was never received into an order), and he renounced all his properties and feuds in favour

of his sons, Ezzelino III. and Alberico. The latter had been married in 1221 to Beatrice, and the former, the future hero of the most tragical period in Paduan history, married Count Rizzardo's sister, Giglia, and gave his own sister, Cunizza, to Rizzardo,* in order to put an end to the perpetual dissensions between his family and the Sambonifacios, who were the leaders of the Guelph party in Verona (1222).

The two brothers Da Romano, and especially Ezzelino, had already shown in many occurrences of what metal they were made. Ezzelino was the most able politician of the Italian Middle Ages, the faithful friend of Frederick II., and soon brought the star of the Da Romanos to an unparalleled if short and bloody splendour.

The new troubles arose from the ruin and merciless destruction of the castle of Fratta, which belonged to Salinguerra, Ezzelino's greatest friend, by the Estes and Count Rizzardo (1225). Seizing a favourable occasion to glut his irrepressible desire of revenge, Ezzelino flew in the heart of winter from Bassano to Verona, forcing his way amid snow-covered mountains and frost-bound rivers, and surprised and vanquished the Sambonifacios and the Estes.

The Da Romanos, although often fighting against the leaders of the Guelphs, had up to this period pursued with their policy strictly personal advantages, quite unconcerned at general political changes. Even when Frederick II. arrived in Italy, as the heir of his

* Cunizza was herself the heroine of a dark romance of mediæval womanhood. She eloped from Rizzardo's house with Sordello, the famous Mantuan troubadour, whose meeting with Virgil in Dante's comedy provided one of the best known episodes of the poem (*Par.* ix. 12-66). Later she turned to other lovers. She survived her brothers and died in Florence, invoking in her will the worst punishment on her brothers' murderers.

Ezzelino III.

grandfather, Barbarossa, Ezzelino joined the new Lombard League formed by Milan, Piacenza, Bologna, Vicenza, Padua and other cities of North Italy, in order to prevent another period of imperial oppression. Yet in spite of the alliance Ezzelino managed to seize Fonte, one of the Camposampieros' manors, and took the whole garrison prisoners. The Paduans, fostered by the Camposampieros, determined to put an end to the power of this most dangerous neighbour. A numerous army was directed against Bassano, the castle was besieged, with the usual accompaniment of daily encounters and of other atrocities inseparable from mediæval warfare. Venice, on her side adhering to her well-known policy, endeavoured to prevent the rise on her boundaries of a single predominant state. Trusty ambassadors arrived from the lagoons, who in vain urged on the Paduans and on Ezzelino the advantages of a peaceful settlement. Nothing but courteous words were won from the irritated enemies. Useless also was St. Anthony's intervention. At last the old Ezzelino, from his place of retirement, wrote to his sons urging them to yield to peace "as the house of the Da Romanos was not yet equal to the task of subjugating the Paduans; though he felt sure, as their mother Adelaide, an excellent astrologist, had predicted, that they would rule the whole Marches and avenge themselves of all their foes." Still the younger Ezzelino was inflexible, believing his own strength to be equal to that of the whole Paduan expedition. At last the old hermit descended from his retreat, came to his son, and, kneeling before him, with tears and sobs besought him to withdraw from an enterprise that would only bring ruin to his family. Only then Ezzelino bowed his proud and stubborn heart.

It was agreed that he should return to the Camposampieros their castle of Fonte and should swear

obedience to the Paduan commune. And Rolandino, who was in the Paduan army, saw with his own eyes, as he writes, the haughty warrior, armour-clad, on a black steed, surrounded by a stately company of knights, canter down from his castle, on the other side of the Brenta, to the Paduan camp. The *podesta* and his court awaited him on the bank. He forded the river, and still standing with his horse in the water, with fierce and angry mien, swore to the treaty of peace and submission. He afterwards cast a grim look upon the Trivisian knights who had fought against him, then, without a word, turned his steed and galloped proudly back. An impressive and magnificent expression of anger, humiliation and pride. Soon after he contrived a plan of revenge by fostering a dispute between Padua and Treviso for the protection of Feltre and Belluno. War broke out more cruelly than ever before. Both communes passed atrocious statutes, enforcing the duty of ravaging and plundering each other's land twice in each year. The Trivisians even promised a proportionate reward to those who carried off the largest booty (1228). As a result of St. Anthony's exertions peace was procured, the Paduans selling to the Trivisians their protectorate over Feltre and Belluno.

The leaders of the Guelph party ruthlessly endeavoured to wreck Ezzelino's power. Rebellion was sown amongst his Bassanese (1229) and the Guelph opposition to the Ezzelinian party in Verona stirred up. In 1231 Da Romano was accepted in a league which pretended to maintain by its joint armies the *status quo* against all attempts to make changes; but Ezzelino, who had become aware that the arms of the league were aimed at him, maliciously delayed to take the oath to the articles of the treaty. His soul was finally embittered by a bull of Pope Gregory IX.



THE HOUSE OF EZZELINO (VIA S. LUCIA)

Ezzelino III.

charging him with the catharinic heresy * and summoning him to Rome; but he disregarded the papal order and through the medium of his brother swore obedience to Frederick II. in Trent. The Emperor encouraged the *Da Romanos* to persevere in their favourable disposition towards the Empire, promising a timely help in the struggle. Henceforward Ezzelino remained firmly attached to Frederick, and his fall came as a consequence of the Emperor's. Nor were the Guelph communes, and especially Padua, slow in seizing every opportunity to enter the path of war against the *Da Romanos*; in spite of some misleading appearances we may consider the hostilities between Ezzelino and his foes never to have been really interrupted.

The Trivisians kept faith with Ezzelino, and Verona was ruled by him with an iron hand. Padua, stirring up opposition to his government in both cities, sent two armies against him, but after various encounters both armies were routed (1232).

Amid these continuous fights, treacheries, plots, inroads and vendettas we meet with one truly mediæval episode. Friar Giovanni da Vicenza, whom we have already seen at work fostering peace, having been vested with special powers by Pope Gregory, wandered from town to town preaching the necessity of a general truce, urging upon political leaders the need of staying foolish dissensions, and endeavouring to quench altogether the restless ambition of the communes and of the great vassals. He, a politician covered with monk's cowl, as later events of his life clearly show, had previously succeeded in arranging peace for Bologna. Obtaining dictatorial power he had then made new laws and statutes. Now he summoned

* The Cathari formed a dualistic sect largely spread in North Italy since the eleventh century; they were altogether opposed to marriage.

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everybody, nobles and burghers, rich and poor, laymen and churchmen, to a general assembly to be held on the 28th of August 1233 in the plain of Verona. On the appointed day a crowd numbering at least 400,000 people were gathered together—a vivid and unanswerable proof of Giovanni's influence. "Since Jesus Christ's days," quoth Maurisio, a faithful friend of Ezzelino and a truthful recorder of his deeds, "never was such a crowd assembled together; most of the people appearing on the ground barefooted, in sign of reverence." From a high platform the monk expounded once more in a long sermon the dangers and the evils of war and the advantages of peace; at the end he laid down the conditions for the peace in the Marches. The treaty was sworn to by all the representatives of the commune and of the feudal lords. Alberico Da Romano's daughter, Adelaide, was betrothed by the agreement to Rainaldo, the young son of the Marquis of Este;* Ezzelino was condemned to sell all his property in the Paduan territory to the commune, and was himself to become its citizen. The people exchanged kisses and promises of peace, but the soothing power of the monk's oratory was dispelled as soon as his eloquent voice ceased sounding. The reasons of the feud, right or wrong, had penetrated too deeply into the hardened hearts of the people; the proposals of the well-meaning Giovanni were far too general, abstract and unworkable, and were therefore doomed to failure.† A month had not passed when

* The marquis was now Azzo VII. Novello, who had succeeded upon his brother Aldorvandino's death in 1215.

† Giovanni himself, like many a popular leader, old and modern, was soon infatuated by his trivial success; he claimed to be entrusted with dictatorial powers in Vicenza, and called himself "Count of Vicenza." His Icarian flight was nearing its end, and in October he was vanquished by the Paduans, taken prisoner and put into jail.

Ezzelino III.

war was again ablaze throughout the whole of the Marches.

The succeeding year, 1234, brought, together with a terribly cold winter, that spanned the Po with an uninterrupted bridge of ice from Cremona to the mouth, fresh victorious expeditions of Padua against Alberico in Treviso ; consequently a quarrel broke out between the Da Romanos and the Trivisians, the former by a clever trick being driven out even from Vicenza by the Marquis of Este. Padua of course backed Azzo's enterprise with all her might in spite of Venetian attempts to make peace. At last a settlement was reached (5th August 1235) by which most of the terms proposed by Giovanni da Vicenza in 1233 were emphasised and accepted. Ezzelino now became finally, if reluctantly, a Paduan citizen. The Ghibeline party was altogether cowed and invoked a descent of the Emperor. The bitter feeling between the parties had reached its climax. Azzo hated even the name of the Emperor, and by stringent laws forbade the words "Empire" and "Emperor" to be mentioned, though he was, by reason of his feudal title, immediately dependent on the Sovereign. On the other side the Ghibeline party, now headed by Ezzelino and his brother, urged the Emperor to come to their rescue. Ezzelino holding Verona despite all the efforts of the allied Guelph communes, an easy route was afforded him to pierce through the lines of the rebellious towns. The lords Da Romano met the Emperor at Trent and were heartily welcomed by the genial Hohenstaufen. The imperial army reached Verona on 16th August and was here joined by the contingents from the loyal towns, Cremona, Parma, Reggio and Modena ; rebellious communes on the right of the Mincio were punished, and, later, Ezzelino, merely by the fame of the imperial army, routed without any fighting the stout

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and proud armies of Padua, Treviso and Vicenza. The last-named town, imprudently if courageously, shut her gates in front of the Emperor, whose rage broke loose upon her and obliged her to go through the terrible ordeal of a savage pillage, although he afterwards dealt mildly with his enemies, extending a free pardon to the majority of them and releasing all the prisoners. This mildness, as if congenial to the generous heart of the Emperor, was now employed to win the favour of the Paduans. The whole Guelph or anti-imperial movement in the north-east of Italy was now centred round Padua, that strongly-organised commune being the solid prop of the league. The Paduans were well aware of the threat concealed by the attitude of the Emperor, but to their great satisfaction, after little progress had been made before Christmas the Emperor decided to cross the Alps once more, leaving a certain number of German troops with Ezzelino. All was nervous expectation in Padua: it was suspected, nay, known, that Ezzelino aimed ruthlessly at the dominion of the town, but he committed no overt act against the commune, though it was felt that he was actively at work. Everybody was awaiting with tense anxiety where his first blow would fall, and this very anxiety impaired the power of resistance. In vain the Paduans summoned all their friends to their assistance and recalled all their troops from external garrisons, entrusting the banner of the commune to Azzo d'Este. In vain the whole power of the council was delegated to sixteen *podestas*, who received supreme authority, for it was this last measure that brought about the fall of the city. Fifteen out of the sixteen *podestas* were bribed by Ezzelino's party. Many a burgher deemed a timely submission to the old foe more advisable and more practical than an obdurate and hopeless adherence to theoretical or

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sentimental ideals. The stoutest supporters of the communal freedom were now those very nobles who had been crushed by the burghers; whereas the burghers themselves, and principally the merchants, exhausted by the never-ceasing hostilities, craved for peace as the only means of prosperity.

Ezzelino's forces, towards the middle of February of the following year, 1237, swarmed over the Paduan territory, conquered the most important castles, either by bribery or by force, among them the all-important fortress of Monselice, and came to a provisional adjustment with the Marquis of Este, who was well aware of his helplessness under present circumstances. At the end the strain was too great for Padua; submission was preferred to hopeless struggles and turbulent life. Ezzelino entered the city on 25th February, through Porta Torreselle. It is reported that in his grim joy he pressed his lips on the gate when passing in.

Here begins the terrible Signory of Da Romano in Padua. Ezzelino manned the strongholds with loyal soldiers, keeping the citizens active by frequent expeditions against those few castles of the district that still refused to submit. Treviso, deprived of Paduan support, surrendered. Thus Ezzelino had attained the control of Vicenza, Verona, Padua and Treviso. Yet he knew himself loathed by the Paduans; active informers made it plain to him that the nobility yielded but a restive obedience and yearned for the old freedom which had won for her political predominance; conspiracies were continuously reported to him. His character, which had never been mild or lenient, grew every day more cruel, suspicious and tyrannical. He pretended that he required hostages from the nobles and guarded them in the dark dungeons of his castles. All opposition excited his rage; Friar Giordano

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Forzate' was among those decoyed into prison. Meanwhile the Emperor, who had returned and routed the Milanese at Corte Nuova, arriving at Verona, affianced his natural daughter, Selvaggia, to Ezzelino (March 1238). Da Romano, on his way back to Padua, avoided and checkmated a treacherous aggression of the Estes and their friends. Consequently Jacopo da Carrara, among other Paduan noblemen, was imprisoned, but, in spite of old grievances and against all expectations, he was set free. Thus Ezzelino strengthened every day his hold on Padua, and was generally and significantly called "The lord" (*il Signore*). When Frederick came to Padua (24th January 1239) Da Romano arranged a pompous reception for the Emperor and his magnificent suite of German and Italian knights. "The Emperor," writes good Rolandino, with pride, "was greatly pleased with the Paduan welcome, and, surprised at the numerous procession of ladies and noblemen, said that he had never seen its equal in any town in the world." Frederick, during his prolonged stay in the monastery of S. Giustina, twice ordered his chancellor, Pier della Vigna, who, according to Dante, held

". . . ambo le chiavi
del cuor di Federigo. . . ." (*Inf.*, xii. 58-59),

to address the people on his behalf; once to express his imperial benevolence towards the city, and a second time to repel the excommunication directed against him and against his party by Gregory IX. As a revenge for Venetian hostility Frederick tried a *coup de main* on S. Ilario, but the only result of this expedition was the utter destruction of the famous old monastery, which was never rebuilt.

In order to enforce loyalty on the newly-reconciled Estes, the Emperor claimed as hostages Azzo's son,

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Rainaldo, and his wife, Adelaide, daughter of Alberico da Romano; both were sent to Apulia in fetters. But as soon as the Emperor had withdrawn to Lombardy, Alberico, enraged at his daughter's imprisonment, rose in rebellion against his brother Ezzelino (who had always disapproved and, as far as possible, hindered the alliance between his niece and Rainaldo) and occupied Treviso. Frederick besieged the town with the aid of the whole Paduan army, but he failed to lower the flag of the rebels. Hence new quarrels and feuds, and pillages and ruin raged in the miserable districts of Padua and Treviso. Moreover, Alberico's success encouraged Azzo d'Este, once more a rebel, to surprise Cerro, a castle in the neighbourhood of Padua; he manfully maintained its possession against Ezzelino, thus provoking a savage retaliation by Padua upon his more or less secret supporters (1239).

Ezzelino consequently tightened his grip on the city. Jacopo da Carrara and many friends of this noble family were incarcerated and sentenced to death. Continuous executions spread terror and mourning in the town. Alberico was harassed by his brother and deprived of Bassano; Azzo sustained a crushing defeat (1240). A cloud of terrible oppression seemed to be setting on all Ezzelino's dominions; he ran pillaging through the Trivisian district, and attempted to reconquer Este; the struggle between the foes became fiercer every day, neither party shrinking from the most gruesome cruelties. Azzo and the Guelphs seem even to have originated the abominable practice of mutilating the prisoners, cutting off their hands or feet, or plucking out their eyes (1241).

During all these exploits, and many more which do not fall within our survey, Ezzelino's heart became inflated with pride and conceit. His ancestors,

perhaps even Ezzelino il Balbo, owned in Padua a palace, whose remains may still be seen in the dim Via S. Lucia, but he wanted to impress upon the town a material token of his predominance, as he had already done wherever he had attained the leadership of a commune. A great castle was built near the church of S. Tomaso, whence already an imposing tower overlooked the city. This tower, broad and high, was reconstructed in order to enhance its value as a fortress, and to contain the dark, damp and frightful dungeons that a certain Zilio had designed. Ezzelino, when they were finished, borrowing the cruel act of tyrannical punishment from Phalaris, condemned Zilio himself to be the first to experience the gruesome sufferings he had invented. The site of the castle is now occupied by a prison, but from the tower which witnessed so many horrors astronomers search the skies, and thus we see summarised the changes and revolutions that centuries of history effect.

The chroniclers of this period are all unreliable in their judgments, if not in their accounts of events, siding passionately for or against Ezzelino. It would be absurd to deny that he ruled with an iron hand, crushing by violence each new rebellion and generally oppressing his subjects, yet it would be equally absurd to consider his doings as only inspired by treachery, when his enemies did not abstain in their dominions from kindred methods, which, after all, seem to have been the result of passionate political partisanship in a semi-barbarous age. Life in Padua must have been fairly well ordered and secure, though the air may have seemed suffocating to liberal-minded men; for even the Guelph Rolandino only accuses the tyrant in those days of comparatively trifling crimes. He was actively conducting hostilities against his brother, and wrenched from the still unruly noblemen some of

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their country castles. The fearful and mad cruelties that stain his later doings had not yet been enacted. If those who plotted against him were buried in deadly dungeons or sentenced to death, free pardons were not unknown even to this man, who has been depicted as a monster of inhumanity. Leonisio Sambonifacio was taken prisoner, and afterwards many marks of honour and friendship were bestowed upon him. A later chronicler,* who takes his narrative from Rolandino, and who is certainly Guelph in feeling, in a prefatory chapter dwells upon some peculiarities of Paduan private life in this period that flatly contradict his assertion of the early atrocities inflicted by Ezzelino on the Paduans. But we are nearing the summit of his career, and we shall see how, when success forsook his enterprises, he revenged himself in a sort of mad fury on all the unfortunate and helpless human beings subject to him. On 12th February 1247, his nephew, Henry of Egna, *podesta* in Verona, was murdered; 18th February 1248, Frederick's entrenchments round the besieged Parma were conquered and set on fire by the Parmisians, his army was vanquished and routed soon after the departure from the imperial army of the Paduans, led by Ezzelino; thus began the rapid series of reverses that the Emperor had from now onwards to endure. On Easter Day of 1248 Ezzelino was excommunicated by Innocent III. in Lyons.

All these events affecting Ezzelino directly or indirectly seemed to urge him to strengthen his hold on the Paduans. His nephew, Ansedisio Guidotti, was then *podesta* in Padua, a peculiarly suspicious, cruel and cowardly creature, fully trusted by Ezzelino; he constantly pretended to discover more or less genuine plots and undoubtedly incited most of the

* Giovanni da Nono, who wrote a local chronicle at the beginning of the fourteenth century, which exists only in MS.

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tyrant's cruelties in Padua. This Ansedisio had instituted proceedings against some noble adherents of the Ghibeline party for having annoyed the government in power. Ezzelino, who had been recently angered by all these various mishaps, found these people in prison on his return from Verona ; he passed a death sentence on each of them, and in a sudden outburst of wrath addressed the citizens, exculpating himself from all open or indirect charges of tyranny. The Paduans saw the change in the mood of the master and stood aghast in terror, fearful of his next move. All hopes centred now around Ezzelino's marriage with Beatrice da Castelnovo, a scion of one of the wealthiest and best-connected families in the Marches.* A rumour ran through the city that the fifty-five-year-old tyrant was deeply in love with Beatrice and yearned for peace ; that he intended to withdraw from the imperial party, making peace with the Estes and with the Holy See ; that he proposed to enjoy his present grandeur, together with his young and cherished wife, either in the castle or in the palace that was being built at Ponte Molini. But all these hopes were soon shattered. In utter disgust of plots and conspiracies, Ezzelino left Padua, conquered two more castles of the Estes, was hailed in Verona by the people whom he had favoured in the new organisation of the town as "Signore," and there celebrated his pompous espousal to the damsel of Castelnovo. Padua, for some unknown and inexplicable reason, was given over to the vindictive charge of Ansedisio Guidotti. We rely for the account of these events

* His first wife had been Giglia, sister of Count Rizzardo Sambonifacio, whom he soon divorced ; in 1238 he married Selvaggia, daughter of Frederick Hohenstaufen ; after her death he married Iseult, sister of Galvano Lancia and a relation to King Manfred ; she also died prematurely.

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merely on Guelph chroniclers ; but, if the undeniable alteration in Ezzelino's character remains unexplained by them, the conditions of the town are so clearly represented that inferences are easy.

Like tyrants in all times Ezzelino had founded his popularity upon the lower classes, in spite of, and often against, the feudal nobility, who formerly had enjoyed the greatest power. But the mediæval theories of communal independence and the organisation of the guilds were still too strong ; if the minor nobles and the people rejoiced at the first experience of a veiled tyranny that rendered everybody equal before one supreme master, the feeling soon lost its attraction and old ideals regained consistence. Moreover, the noble families against whom most of Ezzelino's blows were aimed were connected with powerful friends and supported by numerous followers. Ansedisio, maddened with unsated cruelty and with a hideous lust of murder, filled the Zilie and the Malta * with prisoners, who either died in those horrid dungeons or were, after some weeks, or months, or years of indescribable sufferings, sentenced to some cruel death. Some reached the scaffold in a half-expiring condition ; a few were beheaded after their death, fewer still were released. Thus were murdered the representatives of noble and wealthy families. Ansedisio went so far as to endeavour to prevent the propagation of certain families by blinding, mutilating and emasculating the young and innocent scions of these hated names. Even the stoniest hearts were touched by the rapid succession of executions of noble and respected citizens. Sometimes only the heroic pity of women, undaunted by the fear of the monster Ansedisio, dared to bury the corpses of the

* The dungeons erected by Zilio, the unfortunate Milanese architect, were called Zilie. Malta was an ill-famed prison erected in Cittadella by Ansedisio in 1251.

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executed that had been abandoned in the thoroughfares after having been dragged at the horse's tail through the streets. And those who could look upon all these miseries untouched felt their hearts sink at the inhuman sighs of mutilated children weeping and lamenting. Hence the spirit of rebellion was stirred up in citizens loyal to the old constitution, and many of Ezzelino's former supporters were converted to bitter enemies. New plots ensued and new executions. Ansedisio justified his cruel oppressions, alleging that the state of things became each day more unrestful and conspiracies were perpetually being renewed. It was a vicious circle that must inevitably lead to a tremendous crisis. Ezzelino had been the forerunner of the future Signori, to whom later Italy seemed to offer such a fruitful field. But notwithstanding all his cleverness he had arrived on the political scene too early. Though inclined by nature to the imperial party he was practically thrust into the arms of the Ghibelines by his inability to face unsupported so many enemies. To the Emperors he yielded after his success a mere show of obedience. He possibly contemplated an understanding even with the Pope. Frederick had been excommunicated on the ground of heretical opinions, and, indeed, held peculiar views about religion. Ezzelino also was excommunicated, but it is doubtful whether he was really tainted with the Catharinic heresy or if the Popes merely used this spiritual weapon against a political foe. Certainly he was not the man to be stayed on his way by preaching monks. Many monasteries pretended to have been despoiled by him, and certainly the monks, who could wander freely wherever they liked, especially the newly-established Franciscans, were the emissaries by whose means the league against Ezzelino was founded. If one of his bitterest foes, Rizzardo Sambonifacio, was dead (1253), so, too,

The Guelph Reaction

were the friendly Emperor Frederick and his son Conrad (1250 and 1254). The Pope needed to pacify North Italy in order to secure support for his designs in Naples; he took the first step to foster the league against the powerful Da Romano in 1254; Venice promised her help to the papal legate, Egidio Fontana, who, in March 1256, preached a crusade against the tyrant, promising all sorts of spiritual privileges to those who would join his army. The hope of liberation was stirred in Padua, yet Ezzelino undervalued the expedition and deemed Ansedisio sufficient to cope with all the difficulties of the situation. But Ansedisio was soon out-manœuvred by the papal army, and he was rendered fearful and helpless. Many Paduan exiles and fugitives had rallied under the banner of the cross, and on the 20th of June, Ansedisio, after a feeble resistance, shamefully fled. Padua was besieged by Cardinal Fontana, but the miserable town unknowingly greeted as her liberators a heterogeneous army of unruly and unrestrainable adventurers. In fact, for eight days every house in the city was ransacked, her citizens ill-treated, killed and dishonoured by the greedy and violent soldiery. "The town," writes Rolandino, sorrowfully, "was after this pillage by friends poorer than after Attila's destruction."* Padua had just begun to revive after the army's departure when the mere news of the approaching of Ezzelino caused every man in the already greatly diminished army to seek protection behind the town walls. Alberico, who had just joined the Guelph army, was forbidden entrance into Padua, and turned at once to the opposite party. In August, Ezzelino besieged the town, and challenged

* Ezzelino himself when, in 1258, he happened to take as a prisoner, in Brescia, Cardinal Fontana, after having asked him most courteously to dinner, sarcastically and reproachfully hinted at the shameful behaviour of the Guelph army in Padua.

the defenders to an open battle, which was refused ; he refrained from further attempts, but wreaked a cruel vengeance on all the Paduans he could find in his dominions ; all of them were captured, some eleven thousand, if the Guelph chroniclers do not purposely exaggerate ; most of them were killed, and many mutilated and blinded.

Deeper, if possible, grew the hatred nursed by the Paduans against Ezzelino. Over and over again they undertook expeditions against Ezzelino and Alberico ; they were often vanquished, more often they held their own against the German and Bassanese soldiers of the Da Romanos. Finally the death of Ezzelino at Soncino (1259) spread universal joy in the city. Quickly the burghers reconquered Vicenza and Bassano. Alberico withdrew from Treviso to his strong castle of S. Zenone, but was soon besieged even there by Trivisians and Paduans. He endeavoured in vain to shield his children and wife ; he was betrayed ; his wife and eight daughters and sons were cruelly slain before his eyes ; himself barbarously executed. Thus came the family Da Romano to a tragic end. All their wealth and lands were divided among the communes and citizens who could claim to have been wronged by the late lords.

Padua, which had greatly suffered from Ezzelino's hands, stood once more at the head of the free communes in the Marches, the self-constituted guardian of communal independence.

CHAPTER IV

Increasing Power — Wars against Venice — Increased Riches and Feudal Nobles—Cangrande della Scala and Vicenza—War and Downfall (1260-1318)

“Signis undique bellicis
Clamor bellicus obstrepit,
Exardet furor excitus,
Gentes e requie trahit ;
Cives otia deferunt
Dirum pax peperit nefas.
Bullit sanguinis impetus
Et certamina postulat,”

ALBERTINO MUSSATO, *Ecerinis*.

AFTER Ezzelino da Romano's death the Paduans devoted themselves for a little time to utterly extirpating the Ghibeline party from the Marches. This policy enabled the commune to acquire a prominent position among the neighbouring towns, who escaped from the yoke of the tyrant some time later than she did, and naturally sought the protection of the one free commune in the Marches. In spite of the assertions of Guelph chroniclers, later events clearly proved that Ezzelino had not been the only cause of the continuous wars that deluged this province with blood. As soon as the threatening figure of Ezzelino had disappeared from the scene, old feuds

and old pretensions of the different communes burst forth again with fresh ardour. And the parties that found themselves at most disadvantage soon turned to Padua for help and protection.

The Bishop of Feltre and Belluno, pressed by the greed of the Trivisians, who pretended to be invested with his fiefs, was accepted amongst the Paduan citizens and vouchsafed the protection of the commune on the sole condition that he should build a palace in the town. Azzo d'Este himself, the bitter foe of the Da Romanos, through want of money, sold Este, Cerro and Calaone to the Paduan commune, receiving them back at the same time as a feud, for which he was bound to pay a small contribution every year (1260).

Padua, having thus secured a predominant position, longed for peace. Her favourable situation in the plain made her a natural emporium; the wool and thread-spinning industries, now in a flourishing condition, required peace to facilitate further development; the middle classes were recovering from the havoc wrought by Ansedisio's rule, and partly reinstated in their possessions were naturally inclined to peace; peace was necessary to the University which, founded in 1222, after a short if brilliant period of good fortune, suffered greatly during the oppression. Therefore Padua, Vicenza, Verona and Treviso banded themselves together in 1262 in a league, which aimed merely at the preservation of the *status quo*.

Yet one of these towns, Vicenza, was deeply divided within herself and continuously harassed by two contending parties. One of these, that had assumed the denomination of Guelph, asked Padua's intervention, and the so-called Ghibelines were exiled (1265). Two years later the Ghibelines of Vicenza, supported by Mastino della Scala, who had secured the pre-

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dominance in Verona, threatened to re-enter the town; consequently Padua's protectorate over it became a real dominion, and she became involved in a war against Della Scala, wresting from him the castle of Lonigo.

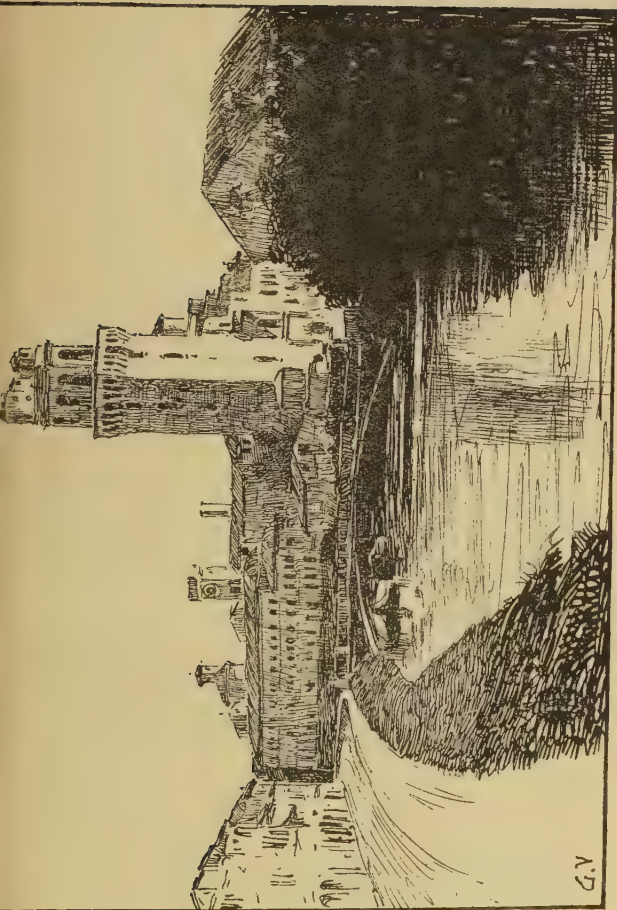
A further increase of Padua's sway was Bassano, which was occupied as a guarantee of a debt claimed by the Paduans from the citizens of this former seat of the Da Romanos. And again the pacific tendency of the Paduans prevailed for a while. The rulers of the republic turned their attention towards the internal conditions of the city; about 1271 were struck the first coins after Padua's liberation; money was freely expended on public buildings and on churches;* justice was administered with strict laws. The town still so far remembered the dark days of Ezzelino's oppression that a yearly celebration of Ansedisio's first defeat was kept. The statute passed in 1275 ordered that on June 20th and 21st all the magistrates of the city, together with the guilds, should form a solemn procession, attend Mass in St. Anthony and preside at the accompanying festivities, to help which the commune contributed twelve ells of fine scarlet cloth, a hawk and a pair of gloves, the usual prizes given at horse races.

Altogether the condition of the internal government was steadily improving, though the continual addition

* In 1269 the old Loggia del Consiglio was built; four years before, in 1265, much money was employed in paving some of the principal streets, and a yearly contribution of 4000 lire (about £2000 present value) for the construction of the Church of St. Anthony was fixed; between 1281 and 1283 four new bridges were built or rebuilt (the bridges now called Bassanello, Portelletto, Beccherie and S. Leonardo); in 1285 the bridge of S. Giovanni was erected and the Casa Grande for the council of "Credenza," and the still partly-existing Palazzo del Podestà.

to the statutes show the difficulties by which it was beset ; thus to avoid disorders and quarrels the number of relatives or guests accompanying both brides and bridegrooms was limited to a score each ; and the penalty of death was threatened to anyone who would propose the re-election of a *podesta* whose term was just ended. The number of the citizens forming the council reached a thousand ; paupers, outlaws, exiles and relatives of councillors were strictly excluded. These and many other more or less important improvements in the organisation of the commune contributed to the continuous reduction of the political power, both of the Bishop and of the Count, who were becoming merely traditional magistrates. The strife with the ecclesiastical authority soon came to an open rupture, as we shall see in due course.

If Padua, after experiencing Ezzelino's hard rule, strictly adhered to the traditional communal policy that abhorred any usurpation of its republican freedom, Verona on the other hand had once more fallen into the grip of a master. The Scalas had become really "Signori" in Verona, and with tyrannical avarice Alberto, who had succeeded Mastino, coveted the possession of Trent, a fief of the local Bishop, who checked Alberto's enterprise by soliciting Padua's protection (1278), thus involving the peaceful town in a long and troublesome war. With Padua sided all her usual friends of the Marches, Vicentines, Trivisians, Estes, and she soon entered into an alliance with Cremona, Bologna, Parma, Modena and Ferrara against Verona. Most of these towns fought also for the sake of the principle involved. Feudalism was destined to engender the Signories in Italy. It is true Ezzelino's endeavours had miserably failed, but the political and social conditions were now rapidly altering ; and the dawn of the classic revival, known as



THE CASTLE OF EZZELINO (OSSERVATORIO ASTRONOMIC) FROM RIVIERA PALEOCAPA

Increasing Power

Humanism, or Renaissance, greatly helped the Signories in their attempts. The Scalas, who protected arts and literature, pursued in this way, whether intentionally or not, a very able policy. On the other side the communes keenly felt the danger implied in the example of Verona and of a few other cities, and struggled to smother the predominance of the Scalas in Verona in its cradle.

Alberto ably secured the support of a few other states, and for nearly two years held his own against the various enemies, who carried the flames of war from Ferrara on the Adige and from the plains of the Marches up to the Alps of Trent. He even scored a substantial success over the Paduans, whose *podesta*, Jacopo Gonzolini, was anything but a capable general. But the Paduans and their allies from the Marches quickly recovered their lost ground and confronted Alberto with such a powerful army that he was forced to retreat within Verona's walls, abandoning all the territory to the ravaging and plundering enemy. At last Della Scala had to entreat for a peace, which was granted to him, containing many humiliating conditions for Alberto, on 2nd September 1280.

Padua emerged from this war with enhanced power and glory; Treviso could no longer withstand the conquering arms of the greater town and submitted; and Padua, with unparalleled pomp, received Clemence, the Emperor Rudolf's daughter and the bride of Charles Martel, nephew to Charles I. of Anjou. The city readily availed herself of this opportunity for displaying her increased wealth and her refined civilisation (1281).

In 1282 the commune thought it necessary to its independence to pass an extraordinary statute, by which the penalty for the murder of a priest was reduced to an absolutely trifling fine. To account for this curious

decree one must remember that it was during this century that the Church was elaborating her theory of ecclesiastical immunities, which aimed at checking the power of the common law over the clergy; thus constituting a highly privileged legal position for priests and monks of all kinds. The Church had felt her political authority vanish with the decay of the feudal power granted to the Bishops by the Emperors, and she retorted by asserting with new vigour the right of the spirituality to be exempt from taxes and from ordinary jurisdiction. But the burghers did not intend to allow the establishment of such enormous privileges. If the burghers of Padua had practically, by a decree of 1276, made any claim by ecclesiastics against laymen impossible, and in 1282 allowed, and in fact encouraged and legalised, the murder of priests, other communes were at the same time fighting the same battle by different and hardly less heinous methods. Reggio, for instance, had forbidden all business transactions with the spirituality, thus isolating the clerics most effectually. Florence never recognised the right to immunities. This coincidence shows the far-reaching character of the struggle and relieves Padua from the charge of singular cruelty, if it does not witness to the mildness of Paduan customs. The clerics, under cover of the privilege of immunity, had evidently demeaned themselves to a system of continuous law-breaking, and probably the lay order of the *Frati Gaudenti*,* very popular among the Paduans, was largely responsible for this state of affairs. Anyhow, we find that already in 1228, 1236 and 1274 statutes limiting the liberty of the spirituality were formulated. Famous

* A knightly and religious order, under the protection of the Virgin, founded by Bartolomeo of Vicenza for the purpose of furthering the chances of peace and recognised by Pope Urbanus IV. in 1261.

Increasing Power

politicians of the time witness to the "wicked habits of the Paduan priests." Naturally, after the decree of 1282, the Holy See excommunicated the town, and a final agreement was only reached in 1289-1290—an agreement rendered easier by a tremendous fire that destroyed over one fourth of the town, the said fire being considered God's punishment for the laws against the clergy, an event that deeply impressed the people.

The Vicentines were already tired of the mild rule of the Paduan commune and attempted to rebel, but the courage and the splendid swordsmanship of a single knight, Paolo Dotto, checked the progress of the revolt. Padua now enters upon a new period of bellicose activity with the building of a fortress at Castelbaldo, in spite of the complaints of Della Scala and of the Marquis d'Este (1290), and the next year saw a Paduan contingent fighting side by side with the Venetians against the Patriarch of Aquileia, until through Padua's mediation the differences were arranged.

Padua, though wishful for peace, pursued the usual policy of all mediæval republics, taking advantage of any opportunity to enlarge her dominions. Therefore when Aldevrandino d'Este solicited Padua's protection against Azzo, who had recently succeeded Obizzo (1293), the commune gladly accepted his offer as he paid for the promised help by selling to the town his rights in the district of Polesine. Paduans and Estes were preparing for war when Alberto Della Scala, in order to protect the trampled rights of the dowager-marchioness, Costanza, who was related by birth to his family, joined with the Paduans, and together, during the next year, 1294, they wrested from Azzo VIII. various castles and lands until he lent himself to a peace that satisfied all the demands of the Paduans

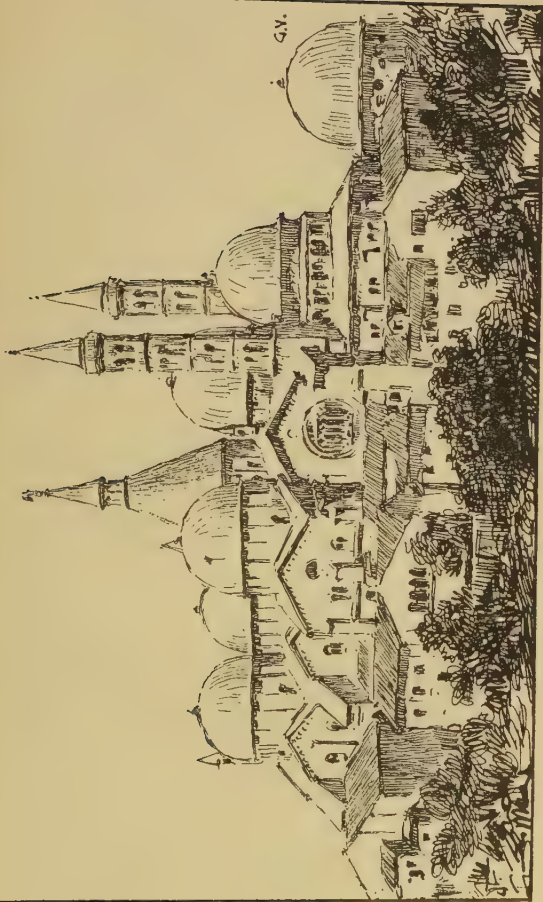
and of Della Scala, but which practically ignored the claims of Aldevrandino.

Padua had now reached the period of her greatest splendour. The University had obtained an immense development and was recognised even by the government as a most important element of wealth and glory.* Great expenses were incurred in order to pave the city, to decorate churches, particularly S. Antonio and the Cathedral, and to provide a convenient building for the official records (1297).† Money was lavishly spent on festivities, and strict measures were passed in order to frustrate all attempts at unwarranted exemptions from civic responsibilities. Padua never refused obedience to the Church, yet the government was now strong enough to demand fair treatment from the Holy See. We have seen how the government did not fear to involve itself in serious litigation with the Pope in order to reform the vicious lives of the clergy or to check the abuse of exemptions. Once more, in 1299, the Paduans passed laws aimed against the members of certain lay orders who claimed unwarranted privileges of exemption, and to restrict or perhaps merely to define more precisely the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts, which were often wont to hear cases which should be submitted to the civil courts (1299). Three years later another cause of friction arose from the abuses of the ecclesiastical Inquisitors in Padua. The Pope was satisfied with the allegations of the commune, and depriving the Franciscan friars of the office conferred it upon the Dominicans.

The Guelph nobility, who had never accepted quietly Ezzelino's Signory, and had embodied and

* In 1296 the professors were rewarded for the first time from the public treasury, whereas they had previously been paid by the students.

† Unfortunately the archives were twice destroyed by fire, in 1325 and in 1420



S. ANTONIO

Increased Riches and Feudal Nobles

organised the resistance to his tyrannical domination, naturally secured greater political power after his fall, which was mainly provoked by the papal intervention. The commune appreciated its obligations to the aristocracy and to the leading noble families, especially the Da Carraras, who had acquired by degrees an enormous preponderance. The Estes, once so powerful, were in these days distracted from Paduan affairs by family feuds and by a restless and ambitious policy, which diverted their activity from Padua. But the Carraras had risen to such importance in the town as to be regarded with a certain suspicion by their fellow-citizens, ever afraid of a new tyranny. During these comparatively peaceful years other elements were beginning to make their influence felt. Peace favoured trade and study. Scholars were preparing the ground for the great humanistic movement which altered the relations of the elements of life, while the activity of commerce enabled many of the lower classes to rise to considerable wealth. A small capital could then be quickly increased by daring speculations. These new men coming to the front were anxious to enter political life, but this was barred to them by the haughtiness of the feudal noblemen. Consequently these financial magnates in opposition to the Guelph aristocracy clothed their personal ambitions with Ghibeline tendencies, and thus the two old party names faced each other once more; nevertheless this feud did not affect the general policy of the commune, which pursued mainly practical advantages and maintained friendly relations with its neighbours, not excepting Venice. In 1299 Padua became surety for Venice for the fulfilment of the clauses contained in the treaty of peace with Genoa; and even when in 1304 war broke out with Venice, though the chroniclers seem to endorse the Venetian version of the rupture, it is easy

to see that Padua had had to endure many serious acts of aggression.

The monastery of S. Giustina owned the little peninsula of Calcinara, and the commune or the monks started some salt works there. Venice claimed the privilege of providing salt for these Italian districts, as she derived great profits therefrom, and was anxious to enforce her claims. Hence the Venetian Signory endeavoured to restrain everybody, and particularly the inhabitants of Chioggia, from working for the Paduans. The latter, summoning to their aid all their friends, Vicentines, Bassanese and Trivisians (who were now ruled by Rizzardo da Camino), prepared themselves to resist, but were routed; the salt works were destroyed and, in the readjustment made, a new boundary limit was agreed upon, thus indirectly recognising the Venetian pretensions (1304).

Apart from this quite unwarrantable aggression, Padua was altogether too busy with internal reforms to be inclined for war. A new grist tax was levied in order to provide money for the general embellishment of the town. A few Paduan exiles probably joined in the war, led by Francesco d'Este against his brother, the Marquis Azzo, with the support of Cangrande della Scala and Gilberto da Correggio (1307), but Padua was in no way connected with this war, and had this year a greater number of students at her University by reason of the excommunication of Bologna. Also, in the great feud which was the outcome of the attempt of the Venetians to conquer Ferrara, Padua did not take any considerable part.

The will of Azzo VIII. d'Este, who died on his way to Abano, 1308, was contested by his brothers, Francesco and Aldevrandino, who declared the claim of his grandson, Fulco, son of Fresco, an illegitimate child, to be unwarranted. Venice, who

Wars against Venice

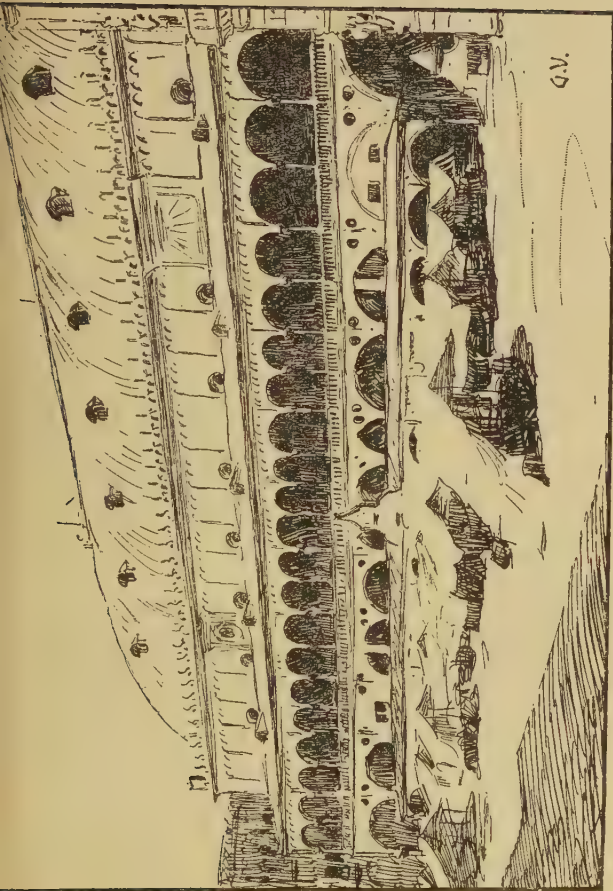
had for a long time previously enjoyed many privileges in Ferrara, and was endeavouring now to secure more from Fresco's difficulties,* deemed this a favourable occasion to secure the real domination of Ferrara. Francesco and Aldevrandino implored the protection of Padua, and for a time Paduan troops fought with some good fortune against the army of the Marquis Fresco, aided by a Venetian contingent (1308). But Padua soon relinquished her share in the dispute, and the two claimants appealed to Clement V. The Pope replied by asserting, on very strong grounds, the rights of the Holy See to Ferrara, a pretence which had been set aside for many years, but never utterly renounced. Thus Fresco and the Venetians were confronted by a terrible enemy. Clement, having summoned aid from all faithful cities, Bologna, amongst other towns, readily answered his call. The Venetians forced Fresco to transfer all his rights to them, and during the violent war which ensued all the enemies of the Venetian Republic lent their support to the Pope and to his legates. Padua continued to preserve, for a certain time, a neutral position, in view of the possibility of securing some advantages from the war. The commune secretly supported the aggression on Rovigo of Francesco d'Este, and the land that he conquered was then bought from him for a large sum of money. At the same time Padua, though requesting Venice to respect her new dominion, did not commit herself to an alliance with the islanders, pretending to be equally friendly to them and to the Holy See. But later Paduan troops joined for a while the papal legates who were conducting the hostilities in Ferrara. All doubts as to the attitude of Padua were removed by the excommunication fulminated against the Venetians (27th March 1309). By it

* Fresco acted in the interest of his infant son, Fulco.

all powers were ordered to inflict the greatest possible harm on the Venetian Republic, and on all private Venetians in their lands, and were discharged from all obligations arising from treaties with the rebellious islanders. Padua sent troops to the army of the crusaders, and, fearless of consequences, did much damage to Venetians trading in her district. Venice, it may be here recalled, was at this time generally hated in North Italy on account of her economic policy.

The islanders stood this terrible ordeal manfully, and endeavoured to extend some protection to their fellow-citizens in other dominions. Most of the cities who had taken advantage of the momentary difficulties of Venice had soon to suffer bitter retaliation; and Padua was, in time, compelled to compensate for all damages wrought on Venetian subjects; and becoming aware that the Republic would soon rise to her former power Padua became her surety at the beginning of 1311 for the fulfilment of the treaty of peace with the Pope. The commune had been steadily consistent with its peaceful policy, yet the germs of future feuds had been sown in the city. Greater and greater grew the suspicion against the noblemen, who were practically barred from attaining to high official positions. Nevertheless the town was flourishing; great public works, such as the roofing of the Salone (1306), the paving of streets, and the opening of new roads in order to promote trade, were completed.

When Henry VII., King of the Romans, that well-meaning but weak and powerless sovereign, descended from the Alps, aiming at the re-establishment of the imperial domination, in order, as he believed, to enforce peace between the ever-fighting little Italian states, Padua welcomed him by sending an embassy, led by Albertino Mussato, to congratulate the newly-



Q.V.

THE SALONE

Cangrande and Vicenza

crowned Emperor. But the fall of the Guelph Torriani in Milan set all the Guelph towns again in arms, following the lead of Bologna and Florence. The Emperor, ever in dire want of money, sold to Cangrande della Scala the Imperial Vicariate of Verona, and to Rizzardo da Camino the Vicariates of Treviso, Feltre and Belluno. He then requested Padua, through her ambassadors, to receive an Imperial Vicar to be selected by him from four nominees of the town, to contribute 60,000 florins to his expenses, and finally to pay 15,000 florins a year for the bestowal on her of the fief of Vicenza. These orders were received by the Paduans with great disgust. Mussato and his faction were silenced, and at last milder counsels prevailed; another embassy was sent in order to solicit more lenient conditions. But meanwhile the Emperor had accepted the offer of a Vicentine exile to conquer the latter's native town, which was tired of Paduan domination. Bishop Aymo of Geneva was entrusted with this expedition, and was joined at Verona by the young and valorous Cangrande. The Paduan garrison in Vicenza was taken utterly unawares, and, panic-stricken, made a disgraceful flight. The people loudly proclaimed their joy at the change, as the Paduan rule had often laid a heavy burden on their shoulders.

In Padua the news was so unexpected that it was at first disbelieved; soon the surprise was changed to bewilderment and anger against the Emperor and Cangrande. These feelings were common to all; the Guelphs out of old political hatred towards the enemy, the people by seeing the power of the commune challenged and impaired. With great enthusiasm, but in utter disorder, the burghers marched against Vicenza. Cangrande met them, routed them, and cut them in pieces. The Vicentines, embittered against Padua, commemorated their victory by a yearly festival,

which was in itself a proof of the hatred provoked by the harsh rule of the Paduans.

Meanwhile, Henry was besieging Brescia in order to chastise that rebellious city, and Padua, fearing that as soon as it was taken the whole imperial army would fall upon her and punish her for the attack on Vicenza, solicited Albertino Mussato to return to court in order to allay the Emperor's wrath by conveying to him Padua's sorrowful submission. But Mussato enlarged in vain, in his speech to the Emperor, upon the humiliation of his fellow-citizens and upon their repentance; no answer came from the angry Sovereign. Only three days later, through the intercession of the Empress and of Amedee of Savoy, pardon was granted. Padua lost the dominion of Vicenza, but the private property of Paduan citizens in Vicenza was preserved. Bishop Aymo, on breaking the news of this settlement to the Vicentines, was nearly murdered by them, they being most anxious to pursue the hostilities against Padua, and for many months they withheld their consent to the treaty of peace (1311).

Shortly after this a cunning piece of diplomacy by Florence, who wished to stir up ill-feeling towards the Emperor, provoked further disorders in Padua. A rumour was spread, which was confirmed by Rolando da Piazzola in the council, that the Emperor intended to invest Cangrande with the Vicariates of Treviso and Padua. Useless were Mussato's entreaties for peace; in vain he assured the Council that the disposition of the Emperor was friendly towards the city. Rolando's violent speech carried the assembly, and an army was sent against Cangrande's possessions (15th February 1312).

The usual mutual destruction and small encounters with varied success followed. At last Padua, having

Cangrande and Vicenza

entered into an alliance with Guecellone da Camino,* Bologna and others, besieged Vicenza, but the activity of the enemy and an epidemic amongst the besiegers compelled the latter to retreat. The war, in spite of the number of Paduan troops, which well exceeded twenty thousand, proceeded by pillaging, by skirmishes at Longare and petty fights at Cologna and Vicenza. Nevertheless, on one occasion Cangrande, swooping upon the town, nearly took her by surprise; his enterprise was only checkmated by a rapid move of Gualperino, abbot of S. Giustina and of Bishop Pagano della Torre. The guerrilla mode of war failing to produce any definitive result, both parties turned to secret treaties, Padua trying to spread disaffection in Vicenza by the promise of a free pardon to the Vicentines should they rebel against Cangrande, and Cangrande securing the support of a noble Paduan, Nicolò di Lozzo. The latter feigned with great cunning a passionate hatred towards Cangrande in order to avoid, or at least divert suspicion, and tried on one side to estrange Guecellone Caminese from the Paduans, while on the other he prompted the Paduan exiles to an understanding with Cangrande. At the end his doings aroused suspicion; he fled, and handed over his castle of Lozzo to Della Scala (22nd December 1312). The castle was vainly besieged by the Paduans and afterwards set on fire by Cangrande. The war became fiercer and more bitter every day; destruction followed destruction, yet Cangrande, though often challenging his foes to open battle, never accepted it. In the long run the strain of the war wrought havoc in Padua, impairing authority and stirring the populace to disorder. A Paduan nobleman, Solimano de' Rossi, retired to his

* Guecellone had in this year (1312) succeeded Rizzardo, who had been murdered by a peasant whom he had wronged.

castle refusing obedience to the magistrates ; later he was persuaded to surrender and give his children as hostages. The people, considering Solimano to have been treated too mildly, surrounded his castle with the purpose of executing summary justice upon him ; he prepared to defend himself with his servants ; the mob hoisted his children on to the besieging machines and they were killed by the missiles from the castle. Solimano then solicited peace, but, maddened by grief and revenge, he seized the ambassadors that had been sent to him, keeping them as hostages. In order to ransom the two ambassadors a free pardon was granted to him, but as soon as he set foot out of his castle he was treacherously murdered by the mob. Such violent methods boded ill for the future.

On the death of Henry VII. (24th August 1313) there were great festivities in Padua and in Treviso, once more a free commune, yet the government felt that the disaffection in the town upheld by the financial class was spreading. Hence drastic measures were passed. Many suspected Ghibelines were exiled ; the political power of the magistrates of the guilds (*gastaldi*) was abolished ; all citizens who did not appear to be staunch Guelphs were excluded from the council ; a new executive magistracy was instituted of four *Anziani* and eight *Sapienti*, who were especially entrusted with all transactions relating to war, and could, in case of emergency, even overrule the decrees of the council. Nobody was allowed to utter the name of Ghibeline, and it was determined by law that Padua and Guelph should be considered as synonymous terms. On the whole, this reform can hardly be described as anything else but oligarchical and favouring the financial magnates rather than the Da Carraras.

The year 1314 did not bring any considerable altera-

War and Downfall

tion in the position of the enemy, except an useless conference of ambassadors and the usual pillaging and destruction of property ; but a fresh outburst of violence in Padua showed that the unrest caused by the strain of the war was increasing. Two burghers, Altichini, a moneylender, and Agolante, a lawyer, who had risen to extreme wealth and were both unscrupulous and vicious, envied, as the newly rich so often do, the authority vested in the nobles and particularly the Da Carraras. For a long time Agolante and Altichini had sought popularity among the lower classes and now reckoned upon their support in this strife. Some of the Da Carraras were charged with secret endorsement of the Ghibeline views. This false imputation exasperated two of the younger members of the family, who, aided by a few score of their faithful peasants, one day mobbed their two enemies, accusing them of all sorts of crimes. This turned the people's minds against their former idols. The houses of Altichini and Agolante were plundered, and proofs of many horrid crimes were found there ; in the cellars were discovered corpses of people who had been secretly murdered by the Altichini. Altichini and Agolante were killed, for nothing less than death could satisfy the excited mob. Albertino Mussato also, who had proposed a new tax to pay the expenses of war, had now to suffer from the uncontrollable violence of the populace ; he managed to escape, but his house and the monastery of S. Giustina, where his brother Gualpertino was abbot, were pillaged.

Amid this turmoil the commune was preparing for new hostilities and had completed the excavation of the "canale della Brentella," which would provide Padua with water even when the Bacchiglione was diverted at Longare (1314). Soon a great expedition was organised against Vicenza, Cangrande being in Verona ;

the town was surprised and her suburbs taken and plundered; but Cangrande, on learning the news, rose from the banquet, given in honour of his nephew's marriage, and succeeded in entering Vicenza with three servants during the same night. His presence was enough to change the Paduan victory into a shameful defeat. With a few knights he swooped upon the Paduan army, which had been carousing after the previous success and was off its guard. A great number were cut to pieces, and for three days Della Scala chased the fugitives and took most of them prisoners. Padua seemed to be in a desperate condition, but Cangrande, after some parleying with Jacopo da Carrara, himself a prisoner, came to milder views. A secret agreement has been suspected with some reason to have been then negotiated. Jacopo was allowed to come to Padua and convince his fellow-citizens of the necessity of peace, and after some difficulty he succeeded in his mission (4th October 1314). The reasons for Cangrande's leniency are difficult to trace; he probably deemed it convenient to postpone his last move; but whatever his reasons were, the fair treatment received in this instance by the Paduans witnesses to their power,* as the great festivities arranged for the bestowal of the poetic laurels on Albertino Mussato on Christmas Day evince the high civilisation of the citizens and their artistic temperament.†

Cangrande had nevertheless not abandoned his de-

* All eventual differences between the two contracting parties were to be settled by the arbitration of the Venetian doge, the peacebreaker to be fined in 20,000 marks. Padua's independence was completely safeguarded.

† A yearly commemoration of this event was ordered, and was solemnised till 1318 by the officials of the University and of the town, and by the students, with a procession to the poet's house, everybody carrying tapers. Mussato's works were then publicly read.

War and Downfall

signs on Padua, but apparently awaited the moment when internal dissensions would render foreign domination less obnoxious. He stirred the opposite parties in the town with a stroke of Ezzelinian policy, keeping the city ever under the fear of his intervention. At last, in 1317, the Paduans committed the mistake of falling again upon Vicenza in spite of the peace of 1314. The attack ended in a terrible rout for the Paduans, most of whom were taken prisoners or slain. Cangrande did not follow up his victory, but claimed from Padua the payment of the money stipulated for any breach of peace. Venice supported his claim, and when Padua refused to obey withdrew her sympathy from her. Now came Cangrande's chance. Padua at once solicited the help of other Guelph towns, such as Treviso, Bologna and Florence.

Monselice, the key of the defence of Padua, was taken by Della Scala through the bribery and cowardice of the garrison, and one by one all the castles of the district came into his hands; he respected only the lands belonging to the Carraras, either by reason of an understanding or for the purpose of diverting from them the loyalty of their fellow-citizens. During the first days of 1318 he besieged the town. Heroically the Paduans, amid war and internal feuds, refused all terms of peace; but in February they were forced to an agreement by which Cangrande imposed the re-admission to the town of all the exiles,* and contented himself with manning the all-important castles of Monselice, Este, Castelbaldo, Montagnana and their environs.

Padua was now seriously crippled and could no longer maintain her position. As Cangrande had expected, the exiles availed themselves of the first opportunity to revenge themselves on their enemies.

* Most of the exiles had been following Cangrande's army.

The Story of Padua

Hence murders and terrible internal disturbances, that drove many of the most peaceful citizens from the town. The situation had become utterly unbearable, and men whispered to one another, "If the government were entrusted to a single man the town could be saved." Probably the friends of the Carraras were at work, as by "a single man" everybody must have meant Jacopo da Carrara, who enjoyed general consideration in the city : he was acknowledged to be Guelph, was related to the Venetian doge, Piero Gradenigo, whose daughter he had married, and was also friendly with Della Scala.

Rolando da Piazzola, the same who had opposed Mussato's first embassy to Henry VII., undertook the task of furthering this great constitutional change by a long and powerful speech in the council; the proposal was unanimously accepted (25th July 1318), and Jacopo received from the commune authority to make and reform the laws and statutes, to select the magistrates and appoint the officials of the guilds and of the army. He swore on the Gospels to observe this statute and to maintain the provisions drafted by the eight *Sapienti*.*

Thus practically, if not yet nominally, Padua lost her freedom, and in a spirit of servility recorded this event by an annual horse race on the 24th of July. Cangrande's designs were, even if he favoured this solution of the difficulty, checked for a while by the policy of Jacopo.

* These provisions were : good rule ; abundant supply of food ; protection to the University ; the treasury to be managed by Jacopo ; the council to be convoked by him ; his residence to be fixed in the communal palace or near it ; the commune to contribute to his expenses 12,000 lire (about £6000) and a body-guard to be paid by the treasury.

CHAPTER V

Rise of the Da Carrara Family—Jacopo I.—Marsilio — Ubertino—Marsilietto—Jacopo II. (1318-1350)

“If there be beings of higher class than Man,
I deem no nobler province they possess,
Than by disposal of apt circumstance
To rear up Kingdoms. . .”

COLERIDGE, *The Destiny of Nations*, 127-30.

IF the development of the relations between the cities of Northern Italy during the previous centuries is very sparingly recorded in the extant documentary sources, from the end of the thirteenth century onwards we stand fortunately on firmer ground. The economical and national interests of the various states are now clearly traceable even through the turmoil of wars, revolutions, plots and treaties. The general reader, who wishes to obtain a comprehensive view of Padua's story, may be spared the monotonous account of battles and insurrections if the main issues at stake are definitely indicated. A glance at a map will show that Padua and her territory were practically encircled by Venetian, Ferrarese and Veronese dominions. Padua and Ferrara, as well as the province lying between them and abutting on both the Polesine, were on the road of commercial communications from Venice to the Po valley and to the rich plains of Lombardy. Venice for fifty years had adopted towards the neighbouring provinces a policy

The Story of Padua

that might be stated in modern terms as "peaceful commercial penetration." A policy which inevitably involved territorial domination on the mainland. The development of Padua cannot be separated from this policy of Venice, as it was more or less directly related to it. Venice, now at the height of her power, required safe and ready ways of communication with the mainland, in order to find markets for her precious oriental imports, while her ever-growing population needed a steady and abundant supply of food from the Continent. And the painstaking Signory, ever alive to the interests of trade and keenly observant of all contingencies in the neighbouring provinces, strove to secure an absolute control of the water-ways of the Adige and the Po. Since the thirteenth century she had acquired the right of policing the mouths of these two rivers and had secured a monopoly of the carrying trade to Cremona and Verona. Trade was obstructed by toll and excise duties of all kinds, and the Venetian claim to privileges which practically barred any attempt at competition, rendered the Republic, as we have already mentioned, heartily hated by most of the other cities. A great part of North Italy was slowly but surely drawn into the range of Venetian commerce; no wonder therefore if Padua was economically chained to the Republic. Venice required Padua's friendship, but had no wish that she should become strong and self-reliant, wishing her to be obliged to look to Venice for defence and support. Whenever Padua rose to a certain degree of power she endeavoured to free herself from this suffocating protectorate. Thus she had refused help when the islanders had been cowed by famine and had fought against them for the possession of the Polesine, so coveted by the Venetians and the Paduans alike because it would have led the latter to the sea and consequently have

Rise of the Family Da Carrara

rendered them independent of Venetian influence. Padua derived all her salt from Venetian brine-pits, so the Signory doggedly defended their monopoly in that commodity. Verona's commercial and economical interests, which we need not examine here, were wholly opposed to those of Padua, and Cangrande was aware of this fact, as all his subsequent acts clearly show. Thus, when the Paduans were obliged by his persistent harassing to elect Jacopo da Carrara, Cangrande did not pursue his success as actively as he might have been expected to do, but waited for the natural development of events. He strongly manned the castle of Monselice, the principal stronghold in the territory, and sowed the tares of sedition by the clause granting re-admission to all the exiles. On the other hand, Jacopo was the only man who could save Padua from foreign domination, and to the Italians of this age, all born outside the walls of a city, were strangers. He had shrewdly refrained from any outspoken alliance with the parties, and his family was strong and rich enough to allow him to assume a comparatively neutral position between the struggling factions. He could claim the whole-hearted favour of the Venetians, as he had been granted Venetian citizenship and had espoused the daughter of Doge Piero Gradenigo. Cangrande, on the other hand, was not personally hostile to him, while he favoured the experiment of Carrarese domination, probably in order to destroy the popularity of the Carraras and to impair their power through the continuous difficulties he would create for the new government. Thus he hoped to pave the road for his own absolute Signory, which he knew to be both hated by the Paduans and opposed to the economical interests of the city. The advent of Jacopo's domination must be consequently considered to have been materially furthered by the powerful

Cangrande, although the times were ripe for the evolution from communal government to seignorial rule.

Civil and social progress had been greatly thwarted, while the violence of local factions had been unchecked by any strong superior authority. It is true that peace had not reigned in the unfortunate cities of Italy even during the previous centuries, marked by the frequent intervention of the mailed fist of imperial authority. But since Frederick II.'s death (1250) a political anarchy had prevailed. The partition of the land into small, independent states had become excessive. Traditions and geographical position were bound to tell in the long run, and to force the different communities to larger associations. The mere right of conquest of one town by another had proved time after time unequal to the primary task of maintaining law and order and building up a constitution. Hence the concentration of all the powers of a single community in one master, who generally wielded command over other territories, met a deeply-felt want among the citizens, who desired to delegate the authority they had long enjoyed without bringing happiness or even an approximate peace to their cities. Of course the great progress of trade and the dawn of organised industry emphasised the general demand for a cessation of internal hostilities, although more often than not this goal was far from being attained.

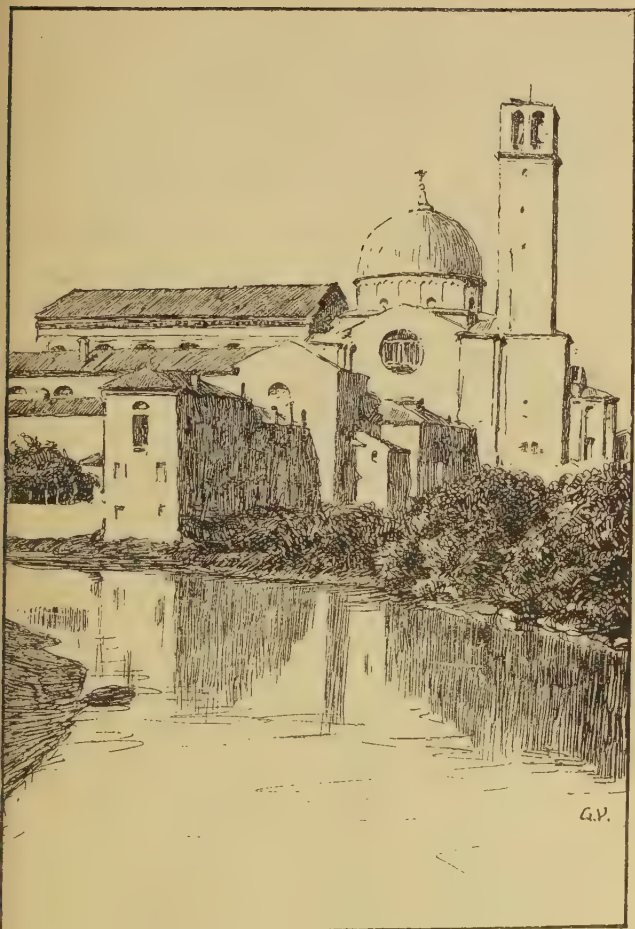
Thus Jacopo da Carrara's rule proved, in spite of his honest purpose, a complete failure. Jacopo was well aware of Cangrande's designs of conquest, and he felt that his own Signory rested mainly on the conflicting interests of the Scalas and of Venice. It may be here mentioned that among the Paduan exiles readmitted to the town were Nicolò and Marsilio da Carrara, who had been urged by Cangrande to follow Jacopo's leadership. But the latter's hand was not

Jacopo I.

strong enough to prevent them from taking bitter and cruel revenge on their personal and political foes. On the other side some influential enemies of the Carraras, among whom was the famous Albertino Mussato, left the town as soon as Jacopo was elected to the Signory. Jacopo had affianced his daughter, Taddea, to Cangrande's nephew, Mastino, but the marriage was delayed owing to the youth of the bride. Nevertheless Cangrande plotted against Padua by supporting the Estes, who had occupied a large part of the Polesine, and by entreating the alliance of the Count of Gorizia, imperial Vicar in Treviso (1319). Feeling that the independence of Padua was threatened, Jacopo surrendered the town to the Count of Gorizia as representative of Frederick of Austria; and the latter sent Ulrich von Waldsee to take charge of the city. Although this change spoilt Cangrande's chances of success, he made several attempts to capture his quarry either by siege or by surprise. A night attack was repelled by the watchful Nicolò da Carrara. Padua's condition was miserable in the extreme; hundreds of citizens retired from the famine-stricken town, and Jacopo, to stem this dangerous tendency, ordered a census to be taken. Only 11,000 fighting men were counted. At last Jacopo's steady determination to reject the advice of his friends to yield to Cangrande was rewarded, the latter with the help of an Austrian contingent being routed, and only saving his life at Monselice by the speed of his horse. His camp was captured and looted (1320). Among the numerous prisoners that were taken on this occasion were many Paduan fugitives and exiles, most of whom were barbarously killed or mutilated. Marsilio da Carrara and Tartaro da Lendinara stained their name by participation in this treacherous deed. Cangrande inclined his proud heart to peace and Padua ought to

have enjoyed a period of quiet rule as both Ulrich von Waldsee and the Duke of Kaernten, his successor, represented by Conrad von Aufenstein, proposed to revive agriculture and to further the interests of the University. But the despicable misdoings of Engelmario, one of the German officials, and the brutality of his soldiery, plunged Padua once more into the darkness of terror. To make matters worse Fra Paolino obtained the re-admission of the exiles (1322), and these brought trouble upon the citizens, who were not defended by any strict enforcement of the laws (1323). Also a fresh German contingent surpassed with their crimes all previous atrocities.

Cangrande had meanwhile been summoned by Frederick of Austria to Botzen in order to clear himself of the charge of fighting against Padua. He could not afford openly to break faith with his Sovereign, but he refused unconditional obedience, waiting for an opportunity to swoop down on Padua. And indeed the state of the city was such as to encourage him in his hope. On 22nd November 1324 Jacopo da Carrara died. He had asked all the citizens who believed themselves to have any grievance against him to come to his death-bed; by the people he was surnamed the Great and mourned as a righteous and well-meaning lord. He chose as his personal heir his nephew Marsilio. Naturally he could not bequeath to him the lordship of the town, but, by making him the head of the family and heir to enormous wealth, set him in a most conspicuous and privileged position. Although Marsilio enjoyed in consequence of this a great actual authority, he was not vested with any official title. A cunning politician, who had never refrained from cruel deeds, he affected a great modesty and an untiring devotion to duty. Perhaps he shrank from any appearance of power in order not to irritate the growing



CARMINI (S. MARIA DEL CARMINE)

jealousy of Nicolò da Carrara. But, as matters stood, he was in a position of much difficulty, as he was not strong enough to make peace between the parties, or even to quiet the riotous behaviour of his own relatives. A truce between the factions was broken by Ubertino da Carrara and Tartaro da Lendinara, who murdered a prominent nobleman, Guglielmo Dente, opposed to the Carraras, in a contest caused by a woman's jealousy. The Paduan *podesta* could not but condemn both Tartaro and Ubertino, who immediately fled from Padua to Cangrande. Upon this Paolo Dente, a brother of the slain Guglielmo, aided by Gualpertino Mussato, abbot of S. Giustina, armed his friends, and with the support of the German troops of Engelmarco attempted to wreak bitter revenge on the Carraras. Unfortunately for him the people did not second his purpose, and even fought against him. His houses and the abbey of S. Giustina were plundered. Ubertino was at once informed of the failure of Paolo Dente's plot, and early the next day he swooped down in order to share in the vengeance (22nd September 1325). Henceforward this future master of Padua, a naturally violent, revengeful and sensual man, appears intimately associated with vicious and riotous youths, led by that despicable adventurer, Tartaro da Lendinara. This gang committed all sorts of execrable crimes, beginning with the murder of the *podesta* who had rightly passed judgment on their leaders, and then set ablaze the archives of the commune, in order to cancel all records of this sentence. Nothing was safe from the lust of pleasure and blood of these insatiable criminals, and though Ubertino's part was only a passive one he cannot be purged from the stain of complicity. Marsilio's position was substantially strengthened by the failure of Dente's plot, but disorder and anarchy in the town had now become terrible and quite intolerable.

The Story of Padua

Ubertino's bullies and the German soldiery were prominent in all kinds of crimes. As often happened, the impunity of these principal actors stirred the worst elements of the population to similar deeds. In the darkness of Paduan nights these ruffians broke into the houses, plundering the goods, assaulting the women, and killing the men, while calling out the names of the leaders of Ubertino's and Engelmario's gangs, so as to induce a belief that they belonged to them, in order to escape punishment. The chronicles of this time, even when written by Carrarese partisans, are full of lengthy records of the most abominable deeds. At the same time the district suffered from the plundering expeditions of the exiles.

In 1327 Ludwig of Bavaria, having settled his quarrel with Frederick of Austria, summoned Della Scala and his foes to Trent; but even his intervention failed to bring peace, as Cangrande was fully informed of the anarchy prevailing in Padua and knew that his chance was forthcoming. Marsilio was at this time also entangled in a two-fold family feud; Nicolò being ever disaffected, and Ubertino and Tartaro, apart from their other crimes, being continuously in arms against another group of Carraras led by Marsilietto and Obizzo, both scions of the same family. Marsilio was informed of secret understandings between Nicolò and Cangrande. Not trusting himself to punish the valorous, reckless and popular Nicolò, he exiled some of his friends who were cognisant of this plot. He hoped that this action would put an end to Nicolò's enterprise and give him a solemn warning, but the generous, if hapless, nobleman disdained his cousin's leniency, and, leaving his sons in Padua, as his unfortunate followers had been compelled to do, fled, a voluntary exile (2nd August 1327). As a consequence of this came

Marsilio

a fruitless attack on the town by the exiles (13th October), and the breach of Mastino della Scala's engagement to Taddea. Cangrande, in fact, betrothed his nephew to Iselgarda, the daughter of Nicolò. In this desperate strait Marsilio entreated once more the support of his German protector, Henry of Kaernten (19th January 1328), and disappointed at the result of his solicitations, irritated by the impossibility of allaying internal dissensions, and disgusted with the unceasing raids of the German troops, turned his mind to another solution of the problem. Perceiving that further resistance would be useless, he endeavoured to save as much of his own power and property as possible by yielding to the persistent pressure of Cangrande. Taking a few trustworthy friends into his confidence, he secretly treated with him. Together they arranged the formalities of the cession in order to safeguard Marsilio's interests, who was in reality betraying the citizens, and to free Cangrande from eventually incurring the wrath of the Duke of Kaernten, who was the legal master in Padua, and whom he could in no way afford to offend. Cangrande pledged himself to espouse Mastino to Taddea, as originally had been arranged, and to prevent all private or public revenge. The German troops were to be paid and dismissed. But Marsilio's convention was legally void, as he had no official standing in the city. He secured therefore, from the council, his election to the Signory (3rd September 1328), and announced Taddea's betrothal. The people, not informed of the real meaning of these events, heartily rejoiced at the dismissal of the villainous German troops, and gladly entrusted the government to Marsilio. But soon the veil was torn asunder by the entrance of the new *podesta*, Marsilio de' Rossi, with a number of Veronese soldiers. Mastino della Scala followed the

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next day with other soldiers, and then Marsilio da Carrara, supported by this imposing display of troops, ventured to announce the cession. The people meekly accepted the change. Cangrande, for many a past year a dreaded foe, who had been called a second Ezzelino, was received with great honours and joyful festivities in Padua. The city was assigned as a dowry to Taddea in order to stop for ever all possible differences between Scalas and Carraras, and Cangrande, with a remarkable intuition of the requirements of the situation, on being proclaimed prince, bestowed his vicariate on Marsilio. Thus ended a war that had lasted seventeen years, and had, according to some chroniclers, cost the lives of over one hundred thousand men. The peace was concluded by the magnificent marriage celebrations of Taddea and Mastino at Verona.

The great state in the midlands, over which Cangrande's rule now extended, contained from the very outset the germs of a rapid and inevitable decay in the conflicting economical interests of the various towns and territories that formed it. But Cangrande, who was an exceedingly gifted statesman as well as a valourous and fortunate general, was well aware of this fact and constantly refrained from binding together the various cities of his domain into a close seignorial unity. Thus Padua was allowed a very large autonomy under Da Carrara. On the other hand this was a dangerous step, as Cangrande remained a foreign master, whereas Marsilio and his family maintained their prominent position in the city. If the internal disorders had not thwarted all the attempts of Marsilio to quell them he would have been an independent prince long before this; but as order was now enforced by Cangrande's power, did not this single fact pave the way to the absolute Signory of the

Marsilio

Carraras? Less than a year after Cangrande had secured the success he had courted so long, and a few days after the conquest of Treviso, the lord of Verona died suddenly in Treviso. His heirs were Alberto and Mastino. The former, boorish and sensual, although good-natured, was entrusted with the rule of Padua, while Mastino, a far cleverer prince, endeavoured to enlarge his dominion; but both committed the fatal mistake, carefully avoided by their uncle, of welding the members of their state together in a real principality, thus causing the hitherto dormant germs of dissolution to become active. Alberto resided in Padua and made this city the scene of his orgies. Marsilio and Ubertino da Carrara were his trusted friends, although, it is said, even Ubertino's wife had to suffer from Alberto's lust. Consequently the economic policy of the Scalas, and Alberto's behaviour, afforded Marsilio the opportunity he had been patiently awaiting.

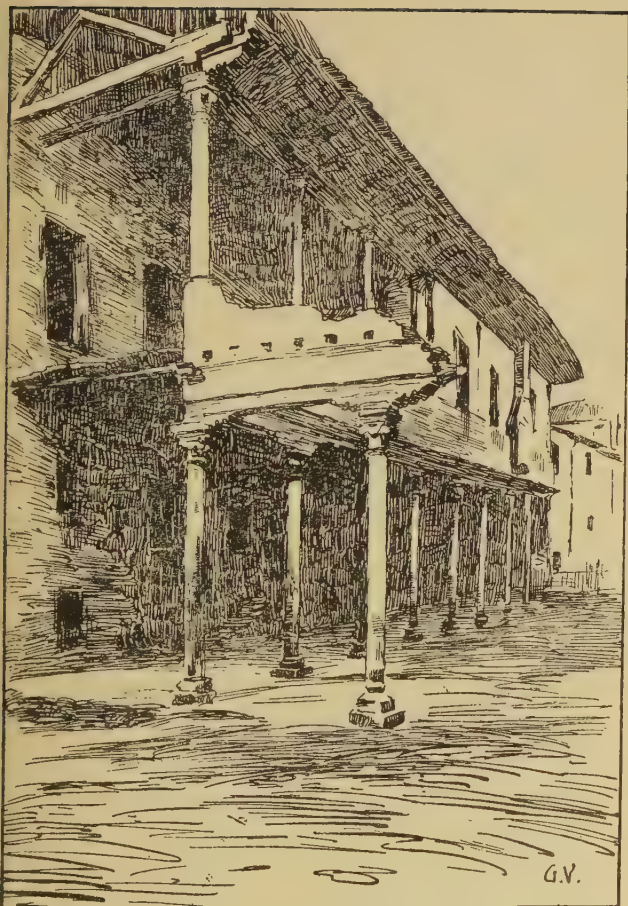
Venice had always more or less considered Padua under her protectorate. Marsilio had been admitted to the honour of Venetian citizenship. But at the same time it was a consistent policy with the Signory to hinder the constitution of any powerful state on her borders, hence a concealed hostility towards the Scalas; and now Mastino's restless enterprise, being extended into Tuscany, stirred Florence also to resistance. These being the causes of the imminent war, we may rapidly summarise the incidents that hastened or prepared its outbreak.

The unifying policy of the Scalas led to the abolition of the commercial privileges which were previously granted to the Venetians. Venice retaliated by cutting off the supply of salt, and the Scalas, acting on Marsilio's wily suggestion, opened brine-pits on Paduan territory (1335). Marsilio was twice sent as an

The Story of Padua

ambassador to Venice on this matter, and he probably availed himself of these opportunities to secure Venetian support for his own aims, instead of furthering the interests of his masters. Venice, Florence and the Carraras must have come to a general agreement soon after, though the official treaty was only signed by the parties at Venice on 14th July 1337. Mastino had naturally suspected that his enemies were banding themselves together to his destruction. Moreover, the Florentine troops, led by Marsilio de' Rossi, were already nearing Padua. He endeavoured to estrange the allies, but, try what he would, the coalition was too strongly formed, Venice and Florence having with grim determination pronounced the *delenda est* on the domination of the Scalas.

This treaty had a far-reaching importance for all the subsequent relations between Venice and the Carraras. Marsilio was promised the Signory of Padua under the joint protectorates of Venice and Florence. Ubertino was vouchsafed the succession to Marsilio. The latter had to lend his support against the Scalas also after his reinstatement in Padua. Venice, moreover, and Florence were granted great commercial facilities, and the excise and toll duties to be exacted on their goods were not to exceed those paid during the communal rule. The Venetians were also granted the right of acquiring landed property in Paduan territory. Thus was the Signory advancing her recent policy of conquest of the mainland. Mastino at this point, irritated by the treacherous attitude of the Carraras, in a letter to his brother ordered him to kill them as quickly and as quietly as possible. Alberto, who had always been affectionately disposed to them, felt forced to obey his brother, prepared everything for their murder, and summoned Marsilio and Ubertino to his palace about midnight.



REMAINS OF THE CARRARESE REGGIA (REGGIA)

Marsilio and Alberto della Scala

The two Carraras had left the palace shortly before, and were rather surprised at this call, but, though suspicious, and in their night attire, they at once mounted the charger and rode forthwith to the palace. From a distance, seeing Alberto at the balcony, they began jesting with him. Had they passed through the gate they would have been immediately butchered, but their good-humoured behaviour softened Alberto's heart and he shouted to them, "Don't come in, don't come in. Go to bed. I want nothing from you," and thus dismissed them unharmed. Next day Marsilio intercepted a letter from Mastino to Alberto, wherein the strictest orders were given for the murder of the two Carraras. The discovery of this plot afforded the Carraras a golden opportunity to disguise their long-laid plans under a cloak of offended and betrayed friendship. By collusion with Marsilio, Piero de' Rossi entered Padua, without encountering any opposition, at the head of the Florentine troops (3rd August 1337). Alberto was taken a prisoner and his residence sacked. The Scalas' Signory was thus brought without bloodshed to an inglorious end. Only the castle of Monselice remained to the Scalas, and soon Marsilio and the Rossi besieged it as the most important strategic point in the territory. It was, moreover, the key to the Polesine and part of the lagoons, and therefore of great political importance. But the fortress withstood all attacks, and only surrendered to Ubertino a year later, in August 1338, on the feast of St. Louis. The league of the guilds, which had been the nucleus of the old commune, assembled once more in order to arrange a great yearly pageant to celebrate this victory. The people felt that the evolution from republican to seigniorial rule was now completed, and indeed the developing process was finished, and the power was firmly centred in a single man.

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The elder Marsilio had already begun to organise the state and to embellish the city, when he was taken ill and died, leaving the succession to Ubertino (21st March 1338). The first act of the new prince, previously known as a reckless reprobate, was to obtain from Venice and Florence the renewal of the treaty they had entered into with Marsilio,* although he subsequently strove with all his might to free himself from the Venetian yoke. He was a typical prince of the Italian Renaissance; violent and cunning, he had declared on assuming power that he was going to make amends for his youthful misdoings and to redeem himself in the eyes of the citizens. In truth he enforced strict regulations for civic order, punished criminals, abolished old-fashioned and useless statutes and rules, substituting new ones according to the requirements of the new social and political conditions; he promoted the wool-spinning and weaving industry and introduced from Ancona the manufacture of paper. The University also enjoyed his princely protection. And albeit he owned various beautiful houses in the city, he was not content till he had built the magnificent residence, known as the "Reggia Carrarese." As soon as he perceived that his power rested on solid foundations he pursued towards the other states a selfish and ambitious policy. On 1st January 1339 peace had been made with the Scalas, who had re-

* In fact, for a time Marsilio's coat-of-arms had been quartered on the public buildings with the arms of Venice and of Florence. And the Venetian Signory, who forbade her citizens to assume the office of *podesta* in any city under despotic rule, granted them permission to take office in Padua because "of the great friendship existing between Venice and Padua, and because Padua was almost considered a part of the Venetian republic," as it was written in one of the letters of the Signory. Actually, from 1337 to 1357 all the Paduan *podestas* were Venetians and were chosen from among the leading citizens of the lagoons.

Ubertino—Marsilietto

nounced the possession of Padua, and when in 1341 Ubertino was solicited and was inclined to join in a destructive league against the Scalas, Venice made use of all her authority with Carrara in order to avoid a war which might, at the end, have rendered the Carraras just as dangerous to the islanders as the Scalas had been. On the whole Ubertino, with a clear perception of his independence, and availing himself of cunning and violence,* strove to impair Venetian influence, which he knew to be dangerous to the freedom of Padua owing to the imperialistic policy that had been recently adopted by the republic. Therefore when Ubertino died (29th March 1345) and Marsilietto Papafava dei Carraresi, his cousin, was appointed to succeed, Venice joyfully granted to the young prince the renewal of the old treaty, which he humbly besought. In truth he needed the support of Venice as his position was far from being safe. Since 1340 Ubertino had recalled from exile the sons of the proud Nicolò, but at last, under the pressure of his

* It is said that Ubertino, in order to stem the opposition of Venice to his plans, caused some of his most authoritative opponents in the Venetian council to be murdered, and that three or four Venetian noblemen were, by order of Ubertino, captured in their houses, blindfolded, gagged and smuggled to Padua. These hapless Venetians found themselves, on being unbound, in the room of the Giants, as one of the rooms in the Reggia was called. Suddenly, to their utter terror, Ubertino appeared. He reproached them furiously and threatened them for their opposition to his plans, and gave them as alternatives death or the relinquishment of their former attitude. The Venetians gladly seized the only chance of escape. If this account by the chronicle of the Gataris is open to doubt it is quite true that one of the Dentes was killed at Venice, or at least wounded, by order of Ubertino, that proceedings were taken against him, although he never surrendered to the summons, and was acquitted for lack of evidence. (See V. Lazzarini, *Aneddotti di Storia Carrarese*, *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, III., 1892, p. 475.)

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chancellor, Pietro Campagnola, who hated them, he bequeathed power and wealth to Marsilietto. This kind and good-natured youth had but a weak support in the city, and was so heartily hated by Jacopo and Jacopino, the sons of Nicolò, that these two, together with their friends, murdered him ere he had reigned six weeks. Jacopo II., who thus seized the government, spent the rest of his life in the endeavour to cancel the memory of the dastardly crime by which he had grasped power.

Jacopo was undoubtedly an extremely clever statesman, and, though hardly a cultured man, he loved the company of artists and of poets. Petrarch, who in 1349 was living at his court, assures us, and his words, though rhetorical, were certainly sincere, of Jacopo's merits. The latter was the first of the Carraras who did not claim the renewal of the Venetian protectorate, albeit he endeavoured to maintain the friendliest relations with the overpowerful Signory. Being conscious of his princely rights he disdained the act of submission, notwithstanding the fact that he had to recognise his dependence, or at least his inferiority, on more than one occasion.*

From the political standpoint of his time he deserves unconditional praise for his tactful attitude, friendly but not dependent. He and his son Francesco were made Venetian nobles (9th October 1345). During the subsequent year Jacopo sent a Paduan contingent to help the islanders against Zara. In 1348 he took part in the siege of Capodistria, and in 1350 he supported the Venetians against Genoa.

* On 25th June 1345 a treaty of extradition was signed between Venice and Padua. Jacopo conceded by it the unconditional surrender of all Venetian outlaws seized in his state, while Venice would only accord extradition after an inquiry by her own magistrates.

Jacopo II.

But the reign of this prudent prince was not blessed by Fate, although fortune seemed at the outset to smile upon him. He redeemed, by his well-timed intervention between Charles IV. and Ludwig of Bavaria, the offence given by the Paduans to the imperial authority during the reign of Henry VII. The city was consequently freed from the imperial ban (1347), and Jacopo was granted the fiefs of Feltre and Belluno. But Jacopo's power was threatened by the noble family of Lozzo, who contrived a plot that was only stamped out by the severest measures. In 1348 the whole district was terribly distressed by famine and scourged by plague: two-thirds of the Paduans are said to have perished. An earthquake supervened to add to the poignancy of their misfortunes. Jacopo's generous provisions greatly enhanced his popularity and he was just beginning to enjoy a new period of good fortune, in spite of some difficulties which had arisen in connection with his domains in Friuli (1349), when he was treacherously stabbed by his reckless relative, Guglielmo da Carrara (12th December 1350), who was slain on the spot by the courtiers.

Thus this prince paid the penalty for the crime by which he had opened his own political career. At his splendid court wandering Petrarch had found a hearty hospitality. The poet, who soon after Jacopo's death left Padua, yielding to the repeated entreaties of the Viscontis, returned there again and again. In 1349 he had witnessed, together with his friend and master, the pompous translation of St. Anthony's remains to the new shrine in S. Antonio (10th February). Now the interment of Jacopo was presided over by another tragically famous man, the *podesta* Marin Faliero, whose brilliant career and strenuous life came to an abrupt end at Venice soon after his elevation to the supreme magistracy of his city.

CHAPTER VI

The Fall — Francesco Seniore and Francesco Novello — Padua a Venetian Domain — The Siege of 1509 (1350-1509)

“Sempre aspeti la vendeta
Del Leon chi gli fa torto
Che sa farla adagio e in fretta
Come s'e' del mal acorto.”

Poesie politiche popolari dei—sec. XV. e XVI.,
ed. by F. NOVATI and F. C. PELLEGRINI.

THE domination of the Carraras in Padua was at Jacopo's death firmly constituted in an independent Signory, yet, as we have often pointed out, the geographical position of the town and her commercial and economical possibilities were not such as to render her future development free and self-contained. Padua had enjoyed such conditions only for a time, and that during her communal life. She could then have flattered herself into believing that she was destined to be a history-making community. But since then Venice had more and more turned her attention towards the mainland, and other powerful states had been formed in the Po valley that entirely overawed her policy. Still we may assume that Venice was the most important element in the political attitude of Padua, and Paduan history must be consequently considered from this particular standpoint.

The validity of the treaty of 1337, though not

Francesco Seniore

officially recognised, had prevailed during the reign of Jacopo II. But at the death of this prince a turning-point in the whole attitude of the Carraras towards Venice had been reached. The bellicose Francesco, called by historians *il Vecchio*, or *Seniore*, who together with his uncle Jacopino succeeded on Jacopo's unexpected death, was too restless and too proud to abide by the not unselfish suggestions of Venice. He strove with mixed success by his shrewd and audacious policy, and by his remarkable capacity as a general, to impress his neighbours with the importance of his state, and endeavoured as far as possible to enhance this importance. By thus acting he put himself in direct opposition to the interests of the islanders and doomed his family to ruin and Padua to the loss of her independence.

Jacopino da Carrara, Jacopo II.'s brother, had always had a very secondary part in the government, and even after his brother's untimely death Francesco's enterprise and activity, and his altogether stronger personality, completely overshadowed him. The joint rule, however, proceeded for a few years, during which nothing of great importance occurred. Padua was allied to Venice, but Francesco was consumed by an impatient desire to wrench himself free from the bonds imposed by the Republic. The territory of the Polesine, the eternal apple of discord between Venice, the Scalas, the Estes and Padua, had by the treaty of 1337 been granted to the Estes. These very weak lords of Ferrara enjoyed the entire favour of the Serenissima, as they were fain to grant to her all kinds of privileges both in their own town, on the Po and on the roads crossing the Polesine. Such privileges, in fact, that no strong government could have yielded without shame. When in 1352 the Marquis Obizzo d'Este died, Francesco at once seized the opportunity

The Story of Padua

to revive the old Paduan claims on the Polesine, but, while the Scalas objected to them, Venice obliged Francesco to refrain from any interference in this matter, and Carrara had once more to give way to the Republic, who looked askance at the possibility of a further addition to the power of the already restive lord.

Francesco secured a great personal and military success during his leadership of the Paduan and Veronese armies operating against the seditious Fregnano della Scala (1354). But during the following year he achieved an even greater feat. His uncle Jacopino, prompted by an ambitious wife and by jealousy of command, plotted, as it is recorded, against the life of his nephew, with the result that Jacopino's wife was sent back to her relatives, the Gonzagas of Mantua, and he was imprisoned at Pendise, and later at Monselice, where he died in 1372. Thus Francesco remained the sole and independent ruler. In 1356 Venice was involved in a serious war against King Ludwig of Hungary, who refused to acknowledge her domination over the cities of Dalmatia. The Hungarian Sovereign swooped down through the Friuli with an imposing army of over 40,000 horse. Padua did not help Venice, but for a time preserved a neutrality, and then Francesco, whose decision was endorsed by the servile citizens, passed over to Ludwig, supporting him with soldiers and provisions. While Ludwig was besieging Treviso, Venice, incensed at Francesco's betrayal, moved her army against him, thus thrusting him into an open alliance with the Hungarians (1357). But she was forced into peace by Ludwig and made to renounce her territories in Dalmatia, and thus Da Carrara was spared on account of his powerful ally.

Henceforward the restless lord gave but little peace

Francesco Seniore

to his subjects. He was enclosed between the Scalas the Viscontis, the Austrian Duke, Venice and the Estes, who were ever strongly supported by the Republic. Again and again he would have fallen upon the Estes, chasing them from the coveted Polesine, if the Signory had not forbidden the enterprise. In 1359 he joined the league against the Viscontis, and his friend of Hungary presented him on this occasion with the towns of Feltre and Cividale, while his queen sent to Francesco's pious wife, Fina, a cartload of gold. Still his preparations were generally aimed at Venice, but his bellicose ardour was for once quenched by another terrible inroad of the plague: for two years he had to give himself up to the labour of re-populating the city. This he did by conceding privileges to the new-comers and by furthering as much as possible the wool-weaving industry (1360-62).

In 1358 Petrarch had returned to Padua, and with his return may be identified a new period of activity on the part of Francesco, who had perhaps himself some literary tendencies with regard to the University. He altered some regulations and secured new privileges from the Pope. By these means and his habitual modesty of demeanour, together with a great simplicity of attire, Francesco endeavoured to win and retain the hearts of the Paduans, alienated from him by the hardships of the continuous wars. Petrarch relates that he was present when Francesco snubbed the haughty and hectoring Venetian Ambassador who had been sent to him to claim the rights of the Signory over S. Ilario. This little frontier trouble was merely an incident which brought to light the existing hostility between the two neighbouring powers. Francesco solicited Ludwig's aid, but the latter urged him to delay going to war a few months longer. Consequently a provisional truce was arranged (1363). The subsequent

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year brought a new war against the Duke of Austria for the possession of Feltre and Belluno. Luckily Francesco secured a financial compensation for the damages his lands had suffered, but nevertheless the citizens of Padua were hard pressed by economic difficulties (1365). He had therefore to refrain for a while from new expeditions, but the interruption of friendly intercourse with Venice seriously impaired the development of Paduan wealth and provoked a commercial crisis.

During the intervals of war the prince was busy with hydraulic works, and with improvements and embellishments of the city. Even in this we may trace the influence of Petrarch. The poet, in fact, in a letter dated a few years later (28th November 1337 ; Sen., XIV. 1), which is in truth a treatise on the good government of a city, after many eulogies of Francesco, hints that favouritism and fiscal oppression were the two principal drawbacks to Da Carrara's rule. He also refers to the bad pavements, the nuisance of vagrant pigs causing horses to shy, and to the long processions of wailing women following funerals. Finally he lays stress on the scourge of pestilential marshes and stagnant waters in the neighbourhood of the town, which the poet could himself see from his house at Arquà.

But arms never rusted during Francesco's domination. In 1366 he joined the league against Bernabo Visconti; in 1369 he harassed the Venetians, whose movements were impeded by the war against Leopold of Austria. Thus the resentment of the islanders towards this unrelenting foe, who was ever ready to add to their difficulties by an unexpected attack, was steadily growing into an ominous hatred. At last the Republic saw the opportunity she had long been nursing. Ludwig of Hungary was deeply entangled

War against Venice

in a war against the Turks; Venice emphasised by a threatening ultimatum some old complaints about her Paduan frontier. Hungary, Florence and Pisa supported Da Carrara by embassies, with the hope that they might succeed in forcing peace on Venice, but the astute government of this state was determined to chastise their foe and to cow this restless and troublesome neighbour (1371). Both states hastened their preparations, but neither seems to have been particular about the selection of their methods. War, bribery and treachery stain the character of Francesco and of the Venetian rulers, and witness to the bitter hatred that they had vowed to each other. Proud Da Carrara, during the conferences opened at Venice, in order to reach a satisfactory settlement of the differences and to change a transitory truce into peace, had bribed some reckless criminals and adventurers, led by a certain Grataria, whose task was to butcher some of the most pronounced anti-Carrarese Venetian senators. Grataria and his accomplices were discovered and promptly put to a cruel death (July 1372). Proceedings were also taken against Francesco, and the story of his attempts was conveyed to Ludwig of Hungary, in order, if possible, to detach him from his ally and to emphasise the righteousness of Venetian grievances against him. We learn from contemporary documents that some citizens of Venice were not sanguine about the war and honestly endeavoured to avert it. They were summoned and solemnly warned not to interfere by secret machinations with state business (15th March 1372). Some monks were also sent to prison for connivance with Francesco. But meanwhile preparations for war had been completed. The first encounters took place in 1372. In some the Venetians suffered defeat, in others they routed the Carrarese troops. The battle at the Brentelle, during which

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the Venetians used artillery for the first time, might have proved ruinous to Francesco if the Venetian *condottiere*, perhaps bribed, had not made an unaccountable retreat. Stephen, a nephew of Ludwig of Hungary, had been sent to support Francesco; he routed the Venetians on the river Piave (1st July). The strain of the prolonged and probably not very popular war was telling on the Paduans. Wild rumours spread among the people. Marsilio, a brother of Francesco, led the disaffected factions, and during his brother's absence with the army strove with the connivance of Venice to supplant him in the government. He was compelled to fly to Venice and his accomplices were severely punished. Francesco, after this blow, turned his mind to peace and submitted to the onerous conditions imposed upon him by the Republic. Apart from other conditions Padua had to pay a large war indemnity of 200,000 florins* and give important facilities to Venetian trade. Moreover, Francesco or his son had personally to ask pardon for the rebellion from the Doge and the Council. Francesco Novello was entrusted with this humiliating function, which he performed honourably with the assistance of the aged Petrarch, who wrote on this occasion that the Venetian Senate appeared to him a meeting of the Gods (21st Sept. 1373).

But the Venetians did not trust the apparently appeased foe, as their connivance in another plot of Marsilio's against Francesco's life amply proved.† This plot also failed and ended with sentences of imprisonment and exile. Marsilio sheltered himself in Venice, where his life was imperilled by the henchmen of his revengeful brother.

* About £100,000.

† See Vittorio Lazzarini, *Storie Vecchie e Nuove intorno a Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara*, *Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, X, 1895.



THE PALAZZO DEL CAPITANIATO AND TORRE DELL' OROLOGIO

Francesco Seniore

Probably in order to distract the minds of the Paduans from their difficulties, Francesco devoted much money and great care to the decoration of the town. Besides smaller improvements, his princess, Fina, founded in 1372 the church of S. Maria dei Servi, and in 1374 provided for the decoration of the baptistery, but he never abated his enterprising policy. His son, the chivalrous Francesco Novello, espoused Taddea, daughter of Nicolò d'Este (1376), thus acquiring additional ground for Paduan claims on the Polesine. And during the same year Francesco proved a treacherous or, at least, a very tepid ally of Venice against Leopold of Austria. He was in reality an irreconcilable foe to Venice, and showed his usual daring in the attack of Mestre when he had joined the league of the Hungarians, Genoese and others, and was fighting against the loathed Republic (1378). Never had Venice run such a great danger as during this war, generally called the war of Chioggia. While the Genoese besieged this city by sea and Ludwig supplied Carrara with cart-loads of gold, Francesco stormed the town after many assaults and abandoned it to the merciless hands of the soldiers. The citizens were brutally ill-treated. The Republic solicited peace, but Genoa aimed at the utter destruction of Venice. Yet if the islanders were defeated they were not cowed. While a new fleet was being armed the able Venetian ambassadors succeeded in sowing distrust between the Carraras and Carlo Durazzo, called Della Pace, who was Ludwig's representative, and resided at Treviso (1379). And after their victories at Chioggia in 1380 the Venetians renounced the domain of Treviso in favour of Leopold of Austria rather than surrender the town to Francesco. At last the peace of Turin (1381) put an end to this war without allaying the bitter feeling between the contending parties. The

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master of Padua, never abating his pretensions on Treviso nor interrupting his expeditions against the town, obtained in 1383 from Leopold the power to purchase it, together with Conegliano and Ceneda, for 100,000 ducats. He met with a very mixed reception when he effected his very pompous entrance in Treviso, in spite of all the troubles and all the money he had spent in order to win the affections of the citizens.

The conquest of Treviso strengthening Francesco's position in the direction of the Friuli opened a new field of operation to the enterprising Francesco towards the north-east, and he soon found an opportunity to intervene in the affairs of this region. Udine and the Friulians refused to accept as Patriarch of Aquileia their primate and feudal master, Philip of Alençon of the royal family of France, who had been enfeoffed by Pope Urban VI. Francesco offered the support of his army to the new Patriarch, provided he received certain towns and castles which would give him the command of the roads of the German traffic to Venice and those leading to the Venetian iron mines of Agordo. He could thus inflict a crushing blow on the Republic. And the latter naturally lent all possible help to the Friulians (1385). But while Francesco was making preparations for this new war, in spite of the warning of his friends and the unconcealed disapproval of his citizens, Antonio della Scala, who had murdered his brother Bartolomeo and had succeeded him in the Signory of Verona, affected a personal grievance against Da Carrara, and provoked him to war: the foolish knave did but dig his own grave. Gian Galeazzo Visconti rapidly wove a wide network of intrigue, the real purposes of which were hidden in his deep and inscrutable mind. He offered to help the Carraras against the Scalas. Verona was to fall to the

Francesco Seniore

Visconti, Vicenza to Francesco. Twice were the armies of the Scalas routed by the Paduans; while the ever-plotting Visconti was actively treating with Venice, Verona fell to him ere the arrival of the imperial legates, summoned by Antonio della Scala. The Vicentines, ably canvassed and largely bribed by Visconti's emissaries, declared themselves in favour of Gian Galeazzo's dominion. The Carraras were thus deprived of the promised reward, and even the war in Friuli proceeded sluggishly. The poor old Carrara, who had thought himself at the height of his glory, discovered suddenly that he was in the very depth of danger. Gian Galeazzo had succeeded in making Venice abandon her usual policy of preventing the formation of a powerful state on her boundaries. She had never forgiven Francesco. Padua was in her opinion an indirect dependence of the Signory as stated by the famous treaty of 1337. The Carraras had turned their weapons against the Republic in the hour of her direst peril, and even the possibility of the repetition of such an act had to be removed. Henceforward the hatred of the Venetian rulers against the Carraras assumes the tragic grimness and inevitableness of Fate. The hapless old prince clearly felt the poignancy of his position, and his proud and stout heart quailed. After long consultations, his son having refused to take his father prisoner, Francesco il Vecchio abdicated, and Novello was made a prince (30th June 1389).

This young and chivalrous lord was beloved by the Paduans, while his father was made a scapegoat for the misfortunes which had befallen the city, but which were only partly ascribable to him. The senior prince retired to Treviso, but this proud lord's sacrifice did not stem the adverse fortune of the family. The army was routed by Visconti's general, Jacopo dal Verme, a

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very able *condottiere* and a shrewd politician, who increased the difficulties of Francesco Novello by supporting a strong popular party in Padua in favour of peace; the latter was ultimately compelled to surrender the town, trusting himself and his family to the very doubtful generosity of Gian Galeazzo Visconti.

The two Da Carraras were detained at Pavia, where an embassy of the newly-constituted commune of Padua offered the city to Visconti (1st January 1389), while Novello renounced all his rights. But the Paduans, unlike the Trevisians, who had once more sheltered themselves under the just rule of Venice, experienced great hardships at the hands of Spinetta Malaspina and the other officials and soldiers of Visconti.

Francesco da Carrara was confined in the castle of Cremona, and later removed to Monza and Como. His son was assigned a small castle at Asti. Hence the enterprising prince effected a marvellous escape to Genoa and Florence, where he found a hearty welcome and ready financial assistance from the Florentines and Bolognese, who were bitterly hostile to the invading Visconti.

In order to secure also a powerful contingent of German troops, he passed later to Stephen of Bavaria, a kinsman of Bernabo' Visconti, the deposed uncle of Gian Galeazzo, and thence with a small band of knights, secretly helped by the Friulians and by Venice, already suspicious of the too powerful Visconti, he unexpectedly reached Paduan territory. The citizens, tired of the Visconti domination, lent him their aid, and the garrison was forced to retire within the castle keep. At last (1st July 1390) arrived Stephen of Bavaria with six thousand horsemen. This futile duke pursued personal aims, and instead of fighting against Visconti on the Adige indulged in

Francesco Novello

frivolous festivities and squandered money on his pleasures. Meanwhile he was maintaining treasonable correspondence with the lord of Milan.

Francesco and the Florentines, with great skill and prudence, managed to get rid of this dangerous ally, while (27th August) the castle of Padua came into their hands and Francesco was once more hailed prince of the town amidst sincere civic rejoicings.

Francesco soon turned his weapons against the Estes in the Polesine; they were in league with the Visconti and were not aided by Venice. The Republic had, in fact, no common interest with the Milanese. During his domination in Padua he had hindered Venetian trade, and had hardly concealed his own aims on the Polesine and on the line of the Brenta. Now the Signory of the Carraras was once more in power, supported by the Florentines, the Bolognese and all the numerous enemies of the Visconti. Francesco had reconquered his state merely as the result of a move against the threatening Milanese. In 1391 Florence sent the celebrated John Hawkwood to lead the Paduan army against the Milanese during the invasion of Jean d'Armagnac, but the centre of the war was more westwards, and after the peace of Genoa (2nd February 1392) Francesco endeavoured to strengthen his still very precarious position. Although most of the exiles had been recalled, many a powerful Paduan family opposed the rule of the Carraras. Francesco, who was gifted with remarkable personal charm, endeavoured to prevent rebellion by a liberal policy, a generous pardon to his enemies, and, above all, by furthering the economic interests of the city and by protecting trade and industry.

Padua felt more and more the economic attraction of Venice, as she was now severed from all intercourse

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with the mainland, which was mostly controlled by Visconti. On the other side, the domination of Da Carrara was now far too weak to be any danger to Venice, and therefore his advances were favourably considered, though no practical understanding was reached, while Francesco and his sons were created Venetian nobles. On 6th October 1393 Francesco il Vecchio died at Monza.* Gian Galeazzo lavished on his dead foe a gorgeous funeral, and granted the removal of the coffin to Padua. The remains of the old prince reached the town on the 18th of November and were interred with solemn pomp.

Novello now turned all his attention to political events. He had made peace with the Estes (February 1392), joining the anti-Visconti league, and allied himself to the Gonzagas (1394). Altogether he pursued a calm and peaceful policy, but in 1396 he was alarmed by secret treaties which it was reported Gian Galeazzo was negotiating with Venice. In spite of these and of the broken alliance with the Gonzagas, some years of peace were granted to Padua and to her lord. The University profited by it, as did also some monuments that were then redecorated. 1400 was an eventful year. Emmanuel Paleologus, Emperor of Constantinople, sojourned in Padua during the journey he had undertaken in order to form a league against the Turks, and was heartily welcomed.

The general peace with the Visconti, signed 21st March, filled all hearts with hope and joy. But it proved to be premature rejoicing, for war soon broke

* For a long time Francesco il Vecchio was credited with the composition of a "capitolo," a poem giving a long account of his life both before and after his fall. But it is now believed to be the work of Zenone da Pistoia. See A. Medin, *Il probabile autore del poemetto falsamente attribuito a Francesco il Vecchio de Carrara*, *Atti dell' Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lett. e Arti*. Serie VII., T. ii. p. 309.

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out again. Meanwhile some of the German electors claimed to depose the imbecile Wenceslaus and to replace him by Robert of Bavaria. But this election boded no good to Italy, as Visconti refused to recognise it, though it had been accepted by nearly all other states, with the exception of Venice. Francesco Novello, on his part, plunged himself light-heartedly in this new and, as further events proved, dangerous venture. He wooed successfully Robert's friendship, and went to meet him at Innsbruck in 1401, when he was appointed general of the imperial army.

Brescia was besieged, but the sluggish campaign was brought to a quick end by the retreat to Padua (18th November 1401). Two days later Robert and his Empress were in that city, and were pompously received by the University, and witnessed many other festivals arranged in their honour. From Padua Robert endeavoured to foster a strong league against his Italian enemies, but no satisfactory agreement could be reached, and he consequently withdrew (13th April 1402).

At once Visconti's army swooped down on Bologna to chastise one of the towns that had waged war on Gian Galeazzo, while Visconti merely pretended to vindicate the offended honour of Wenceslaus. Francesco III. and Jacopo Carrara, sons of Novello, were taken prisoners at the battle of Castellecchio, and another army of the Visconti threatened the Paduan district. But both the two youthful princes managed to escape, and Gian Galeazzo died 3rd October.

This clever and insatiable prince had, since his succession, centred all political events of North Italy around himself. His policy was so shrewd, pitiless, and at the same time so patient and audacious, that nobody had felt safe, and all, forsaking their particular interests, concentrated their whole power in the en-

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deavour to check his dangerous enterprise. In a way this fact may be considered as the negative result of Visconti's unconfessed aspiration to the unification of Italy under his rule. But as soon as he passed away the old feuds and quarrels recommenced with renewed bitterness.

Novello intended to take advantage of the feminine weakness of the Duchess of Milan, but while all the other claimants to portions of her territories came to a prompt agreement, Francesco held out and found himself confronted by the whole Milanese army (1403). But as usual he faced the difficulty with great pluck and determination. Since 5th July 1399 he had renewed the old treaty of 1337, by which Padua was put under the Venetian protectorate, and thought himself, perhaps, safe from any attack on the part of the Republic. But the shrewd Dal Verme was at Venice seeking a profitable arrangement for the Viscontis. The Signory adhered once more to her traditional policy, and in spite of the frequent rebellions of the Carraras seemed to prefer the latter as neighbours to the Viscontis. She urged Francesco Novello to lay down his arms, but her advice was disregarded, and this was probably the drop that filled the cup.

For over a century the Republic had been more and more attracted by commercial and political interests towards the mainland. The far-sighted Signory had keenly watched the proceedings and the struggles in Friuli, as in Ferrara, Treviso and Padua. The time when small friendly states, too weak to be dangerous, removed any necessity for her openly to intervene on the continent, and the consequent ominous jealousies of other bigger states, seemed to be passing away. The formation of a Venetian state on the mainland was the sole other course open to the Signory, and



THE LOGGIA DEL CONSIGLIO

Francesco Novello

though she had long foreseen this necessity it was only now her final decision was taken.

But even Venetian hostility did not deter the resolute Da Carrara from his plans. Accompanied by Guglielmo della Scala, heir to the deposed master of Verona, he attacked at once Verona and Vicenza. The former town, where the old war-cry, "Scala Scala," still found a wide echo among the people downtrodden by the oppressive officials of Visconti, fell to Francesco. Guglielmo, who had been proclaimed master, suddenly died; and there was a widespread rumour that some Carrarese drug was the cause of his death. In fact, after a short delay, Francesco openly secured the Signory, capturing Antonio and Brunoro, the two younger sons of Guglielmo.

Vicenza, too, was on the eve of surrender when, in consequence of secret treaties between Dal Verme and the Venetians, she hoisted the flag of St. Mark, and thus robbed Francesco of his quarry. The prince, more courageous than wise, ventured to face the Republic, and with old-fashioned courtesy despatched a formal challenge (23rd June 1404), which was received at Venice with the utmost indignation.

At Vicenza a Venetian herald had been slain by the Paduans, and these two acts roused Venetian pride. The Signory was more especially full of wrath because Francesco was considered to be bound by the treaty of 1399. A powerful army of mercenaries was collected, and Nicolò d'Este forced to withdraw his support from the Carraras.

Verona was stoutly defended from the troops of the Viscontis by Francesco's son, Jacopo da Carrara. But, in spite of his grim determination, the disaffected people surrendered the town (23rd June 1405), and Jacopo himself was taken prisoner while attempting to fly. Francesco was meanwhile besieged in Padua.

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His courage and his pertinacity never yielded. There is a poignant touch of tragedy in his review of the army in Pra' della Valle on 15th August 1404. It was composed mostly of Paduans, a strange sight in this period of mercenary troops. This mustering of armed citizens of a small town threatened and overawed by a more powerful foe is quite mediæval. Francesco Novello and his son, Francesco III., fought to the end with skill and great courage, but in vain. Some minor successes could not stem the advance of the Venetians. Francesco III. still favoured a possible settlement. The people, distressed by the siege, clamoured for peace, but Novello could not overcome his native pride and rashness. More than once he agreed to entertain the offers made by the Venetians, only to put a stop to all such discussion a little later. On the 17th of November the Venetians entered the town, and while Francesco was making arrangements to treat with them the citizens abandoned him and, probably hoping for a revival of communal freedom, sent their own ambassadors to Venice.

Novello and his son were brought to the lagoons, where Jacopo joined them, while the Paduans, with their usual love for novelty, greeted the conquerors with acclamations of joy. Francesco Zabarella was the Paduan spokesman at Venice, where he tendered the submission of the town (22nd November 1405).

It has repeatedly been asserted that the treatment of the Carraras is an indelible stain on the fame of Venetian justice. Careful and most secret proceedings were taken against Francesco and his sons, whose death was loudly called for by the mob. They were all sentenced to death on account of their treachery in 1404, when they defied the Republic. Probably the judges were strongly prejudiced on account of the repeated attacks waged by the two last Carraras on Venice.

Padua a Venetian Domain

Jacopo dal Verme had once hinted that "dead men wage no war" (*Omo morto non fa guerra*), and the continuous endeavour of the Signory to lay hands upon the other scions of the family, Ubertino and Marsilio, seems to point to her adherence to this truly Machiavelian motto. Nevertheless, some ground for the prosecution must have existed, as various Venetian citizens, among them the glorious Carlo Zeno, were sentenced to prison for conniving with the Carraras. These had certainly many friends, both in Padua and in Venice.

The people in general, in Padua as in all Venetian dominions, were hearty supporters of the Republic, as her strong and just rule greatly improved the general conditions. But the old feudal nobility, who had enjoyed many privileges during the Signory of the Carraras, and the clergy, who had also profited by the old misrule, whereas they were now forced to strict submission to the laws, yearned for the old constitution. Hence the existence of a party that might at any time have supported a restoration, and hence also the necessity for Venice to prevent such a possibility by severe sentences and executions.

Marsilio da Carrara and Brunoro della Scala, claimants respectively to Padua and Verona, were unceasingly persecuted by the Republic. She often tried to have them secretly assassinated, but was never successful in her attempts. Brunoro had implored her pardon in 1406; had been repulsed, and had then stoutly endeavoured, in close alliance with Marsilio, to reconquer his state. The two exiles wandered from prince to prince and from town to town seeking for supporters and awaiting a favourable opportunity to rally their friends in the two cities around them. And so, whenever war was waged against Venice, it always happened that seditions were stirred up in

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Verona or in Padua. Thus it was in 1409, when Boucicault descended upon Lombardy, and in 1412, when the Emperor Sigmund was at Feltre. In 1412 a monk was condemned at Padua for collusion with the Carraras, and finally in 1435 Marsilio attempted to conquer the town by surprise. His attempt was a sad failure and brought him into the hands of the Signory, who delivered him at once over to the executioner. Many nobles, who had been suspected of connivance with him, endured heavy sentences. But this was the last that was heard of the Carraras. The inexorable, suspicious, and revengeful Republic had uprooted them from Paduan soil.

Except a few ideologists and sentimental lovers of old times, all the Paduans had greeted with joy the change from the constant and ruthless wars waged by their late masters to the easy and enlightened yoke of the Republic. A yoke that had been given to them together with an unaccustomed abundance of food. The paternal rule of Venice furthered the interests of her subjects. When the Salone was sorely damaged by fire in 1420 the Signory exempted the town from the payment of rates in order to hasten the rebuilding.

Still, the principal institution of the city was the University. Venice, far from removing the old schools, protected them with liberality. If some of the Paduan merchants transferred themselves to Venice, the wealthy Venetians flocked in scores to the Paduan plain and to the Euganean hills, which they covered with gardens and villas. The learning and the studies connected with the University now sowed the seed which later brought forth abundant fruit. The first half of the fifteenth century saw the greatest artists of the time crowding into Padua. Donatello was called hither and here was reared Mantegna.

Padua was now absorbed into the Venetian state,

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and her political history melts into the wider policy of Venice. Only once more Padua stepped to the foreground, when the increasing power of the Republic in Northern Italy set the predatory instincts of the great continental powers astir.

The haughty and bellicose old Pope, Julius II., in order to reassert the domination of the Holy See over Ravenna and Cervia, provoked the brutal league of Cambrai. The Venetian domains were to be divided among Louis XII. of France, the Emperor Maximilian, the Pope, Ferdinand of Aragon, Alfonso d'Este, Francesco II. Gonzaga and some smaller bandits.

The league surprised Venice unprepared ; her stout army was utterly routed by the French at Agnadello on the river Adda (14th May 1509). Seeing that her troops were unequal to the task of stemming the inroads of her enemies, who flocked from all sides, the Republic endeavoured to lessen her loss by a wary and cunning policy. The victorious King of France had stopped, according to the treaty at the Adige. Maximilian, halting and hesitating by nature, and also by reason of his military weakness, delayed the conquest of his share. A Vicentine adventurer, who had been exiled by the Signory, Leonardo Trissino, accompanied by a score of German horsemen, or, according to a contemporary Paduan writer, by a single bugler, entered Vicenza and received the surrender of this community in the name of the Emperor. Venice never absolved her subjects from their obligations, but even in Venice the gloom of the situation had made all hearts despair, and no orders for the defence were forthcoming from the government. The cities were convinced of the inevitability of the doom impending on Venice. Hence they all tried to make the best terms they could, and hence the

disgraceful succession of cowardly surrenders to the envoys of the allied powers.

The Paduans, like the others, despairing of any Venetian help, readily surrendered to Trissino (5th June), and even greeted the new domination with festivities. Trissino, being ashamed of his poor company and of his mean attire, entered the town at night. A few days later he was joined by some hundred German soldiers. To the delight of Venice each of the allies had to conquer his own share, and all were extremely afraid of usurpation of their rights on the part of their accomplices. The government of Venice did their best to widen the split and endeavoured by timely partial sacrifices to disorganise their enemies. Louis was still in Lombardy when the Signory, having reduced, probably by bribery, the garrison of Padua to two hundred men, planned in the strictest secrecy the recapture of the town.

Andrea Gritti, an active commissioner in the army, with the connivance of some spies within the walls, surprised the town and entered by Porta Codalunga, while other Venetian troops were passing through another gate (17th July). The Paduans, who were irritated by the exactions of the imperial soldiers, greeted this event with joy. In reality, the city had not been ruled by the daring vicar of the laggard Emperor, but by the few nobles who were discontented with the Venetian domination. Gritti could not hinder the sack of the palaces of these nobles. The army and the citizens joined in the plunder, estimated by Sanuto at 150,000 ducats.

The defence of the town was now prepared by the Venetians with the greatest activity. The Germans in the castle surrendered, except Trissino and a few others, who made their escape. The Emperor gathered an army of about 20,000 men around the

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town, but the jealousy between the different contingents, French, German, Spanish and Italian, and the doubtful fidelity of the general of the allied army minimised their efforts. The peasants of the whole territory, who had to endure great hardship and brutal cruelty from the Imperialists, had, as well as the people inside the walls, been always favourable to Venice.

The real siege began 16th September. All the houses and villas outside the walls had been levelled in order to deprive the besiegers of shelter, and many a fine church was wrecked on this occasion. There were 20,000 soldiers in Padua, heartily supported by a goodly number of the 80,000 inhabitants. Thrice within nine days the Bastione Codalunga was attacked and cleverly defended by the valourous Citolo da Perugia. The defenders, feeling confident of victory, mocked the assailants by hoisting a cat on a lance and ironically inviting them to come and take it. Hence this bastion was called "Bastione della Gatta."*

The first day of October the Emperor effected his shameful retreat and Padua was thus the first town reconquered by the Signory.

Henceforward the history of Padua merges into that of Venice and in the records of the University. The rapid stream found peace in the sluggish waters of the lagoon.

As it would be alien to our purpose to record the valourous behaviour of the Paduan students in 1848, we pass in silence this one of the many heroic pages of the heroic Italian Revolution.

* This was an old military farce traceable to the fourteenth century. See A. Medin, *La Obsidione di Padua del 1509, Scelta di curiosità letterarie*, n. 244, Bologna, 1892.

CHAPTER VII

Culture and Art in Padua—The University—Painters and Sculptors

“Once remotest nations came
To adore that sacred flame,
When it lit not many a hearth
On this cold and gloomy earth.”

SHELLEY, *Lines written among the Euganean Hills*, vv. 261-64.

A PART from the advantages of a good geographical position, we may recognise in the early foundation of the University one of the most important features of Paduan history from the Middle Ages down to modern times. It is now admitted that at the period when Irnerio lectured at Bologna there were masters imparting legal teaching also in Padua. More systematic research has dispelled many established beliefs concerning the culture of the early mediæval ages. Nowadays we know that the restriction of education to cloister and cathedral schools must not be understood literally. Thus a study of laws, if limited even to the simple requirements of every-day practice and destitute of all theoretical apparatus, must have subsisted in each city of importance.

The foundation of the “*Studia generalia*,” as the Universities were then called, of Bologna, Paris and Oxford, means the reawakening of scientific life rather than a new commencement of learning after a period of utter ignorance. Nothing could, in fact, have been

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more contradictory to the gradual development of human institutions than the common interpretation of this interesting event. The official foundation of the *Studium Generale* is admittedly fixed at the year 1222, when Jordanus, Bishop of Padua, being at Bologna, entreated William of Gascogne, professor of Decretals, to transfer himself to Padua. The latter, having agreed to the Bishop's wish, invited, by a letter, which is still extant, his Bolognese colleague, Peter the Spaniard, to follow his example. Peter also came to Padua, and his arrival greatly contributed to enhance the importance of the school, whereto many students migrated from Bologna, either in order to avoid political disturbances, or attracted by the fame of the professors.

Already in 1222 or 1223 we find here Albertus Magnus, the famous teacher of St. Thomas Aquinas. His presence seems to point to an earlier beginning of the *Studium*, while it certainly proves that, though for a long time yet degrees of law only could be granted here, theological teaching was not disregarded. Still, the unsettled state of political affairs could not but impair the growth of the University, though there is no warrant for the legend that the school was ever leased by the commune to the city of Vercelli, and transferred thither for a number of years in order to obtain the loan of a large sum of money (1228). Nor during the savage tyranny of Ezzelino could the students attend peacefully to their lessons, and it is highly probable that many of them fled to quieter cities. Some students, however, are mentioned in Paduan documents of this time, thus informing us that the school was not altogether suppressed.

Only after Padua's liberation begins the flourishing epoch of the *Studium*. The right of conferring the degrees of Bachelor and of Doctor being recognised as

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a privilege to be granted by the two great mediæval authorities, the Pope and the Emperor, the rise of a University is always marked by the bestowal of imperial or papal privileges and charters.* Urban IV. in 1261 granted such rights to the Paduan Studium. And in 1264 the students were recognised as forming a body with particular claims on the laws and statutes of the commune. Hence the modern denomination of University was derived, the body of the students being called "Universitas."

Privileges were indeed needed to guarantee a certain amount of comfort to the students, whose life was by no means an easy one, as we may well imagine if we consider the distance from their own countries, the difficulty of communication, the frequent outburst of political disturbances in the city, and, sometimes, the feuds between the city and the native countries of the students. Impecuniosity among scholars is not a modern invention, and we find landlords disinclined to trust them on account of irregular payments and their vagrant habits, and refusing to admit them to board in their houses. Foreign states extended a very precarious protection to their citizens in Padua, and the community, in order to protect them from the possible misdealings of Paduans, passed laws by which no payment could be enforced on a student eight days after his departure. Eventually the professors had to impart private lessons gratuitously, and many of them even received some of the quietest and most studious men into their own homes; the poorest scholars were supported by the city. The students, who were not necessarily or generally young, elected their own officials, among them the Rector and his council, with

* The foundation of the University of Bologna has been more or less correctly associated with certain decrees granted by Barbarossa at Roncaglia in 1155.

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whom rested the appointment of the professors. Ubertino da Carrara was the first to derogate from this rule, himself inviting celebrated masters to the chair, and subsequently the appointment of professors became more and more a government right. The students naturally grouped themselves in racial or national groups, called "nationes" (nations), more or less numerous and well-defined according to the distance from their country, and each nation had its own statutes. A journey to Italy, and a visit to the already famous schools of Bologna and Padua, formed an important chapter in the life of each student. German, Polish and Hungarian students particularly favoured Padua. During the fourteenth century there were so many foreigners here that the *Universitas* was divided in *Cisalpina*, formed by Italians, and *Transalpina*, which was constituted by students hailing from the northern side of the Alps. The *Universitas* had besides been divided in 1342 in two bodies, *Universitas legistarum* (students of laws) and *Universitas artistarum*, students of other faculties. The division had been made in order to prevent the frequent quarrels arising between the students for pre-eminence. This provisional separation was in 1399 officially recognised.

The fame of the University was such during the thirteenth century that in 1271 the professors were appointed to decide the contested legality of the council of Lyons. The Carrarese princes well understood the ideal and practical importance of the University, and endeavoured to further its growth by privileges and donations. Urban V., solicited by Francesco Seniore, bestowed on the school in 1360 the right of conferring theological degrees, a right which was previously only granted to Paris and later to Bologna.

It does not pertain to our immediate purpose to relate how the lessons were imparted. In older days,

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during the despotic predominance of the Scholastic philosophy, study was restricted to a comment of a text, or more often to the comment of a comment. Later, a new life was infused into mediæval learning; the humanistic Renaissance was dawning. Students of the higher degrees of the curriculum were often allowed to lecture on minor arts. We frequently find here, as students, men who had already obtained their degrees in other universities. It is amazing to us to see the strenuous spirit of self-sacrifice that inspired mediæval scholars: uncomfortable journeys, dangers, terrible labours did not quench their sacred thirst for knowledge. Students were allowed, provided that they gave notice in due time to the authorities, to start controversial debates on particular arguments, a practice that was only stopped in 1605 on account of the grave disorders caused by one of these debates.

If the Carraras provided for the decorum of the school, the Venetian Signory, when Padua became a town of her domain, did not spare any pains to enhance the fame of the University. The institution of a studium at Venice in 1490 was not intended to hinder the development of the Paduan University, as the conferring of legal and theological degrees was exclusively reserved to Padua. We still possess a number of interesting documents of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries relating to the University. All the citizens of the Paduan district were taxed for the maintenance of the *Studium*, and Venice contributed generously towards the expenses.

Owing to the frequent financial difficulties of the students Jews collected around them, and, in spite of much prejudice, proved often more liberal in their terms than Christian moneylenders or than the rich and niggardly trades guilds. On their side the students, with youthful generosity, showed their gratitude by

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instituting themselves the champions of Free Thought against religious or racial prejudices. Many of the Germans were Protestants and had in consequence to endure bitter restrictions. They were denied the degrees and, when ill, medical attendance was not allowed them. Venice, as is well known, was extremely tolerant, and only intervened to enforce the rules she had been compelled to adopt when provoked by disorders or by the lamentations of the Holy See. Her attitude was that of endeavouring to avoid scandals and to preserve as far as possible the greatest intellectual freedom for the students. The Germans were the most numerous body of the Transalpine nations, but there was also a considerable number of Englishmen and Scotsmen.* Many of the wealthier young men came to Padua to enjoy life and to be initiated into good manners. When the Renaissance was at its height, although swords were frequently drawn, there was a great tendency towards luxury and extravagance. The rectorship became an unbearably expensive honour. There was a continuous endeavour to outdo the rector of the rival University and all predecessors in the pageant and festivities following the election. The officials of the University were granted a privileged place in all official functions and ranked immediately after the town magistrates. A serious disaster occurred when the war of the league of Cambrai (1508-1517) caused the school to be closed, but it was soon restored to its previous glory. Henry VIII. of England applied to the professors of the University for a decision about

* The *Universitas legistarum* was the more numerous and was divided in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries into two-and-twenty nations; (1) Germanica; (2) Bohema; (3) Polona; (4) Hungara; (5) Provincialis; (6) Burgundica; (7) Anglica; (8) Hispana; (9) Ultramontana; (10) Scota, and twelve Italian nations.

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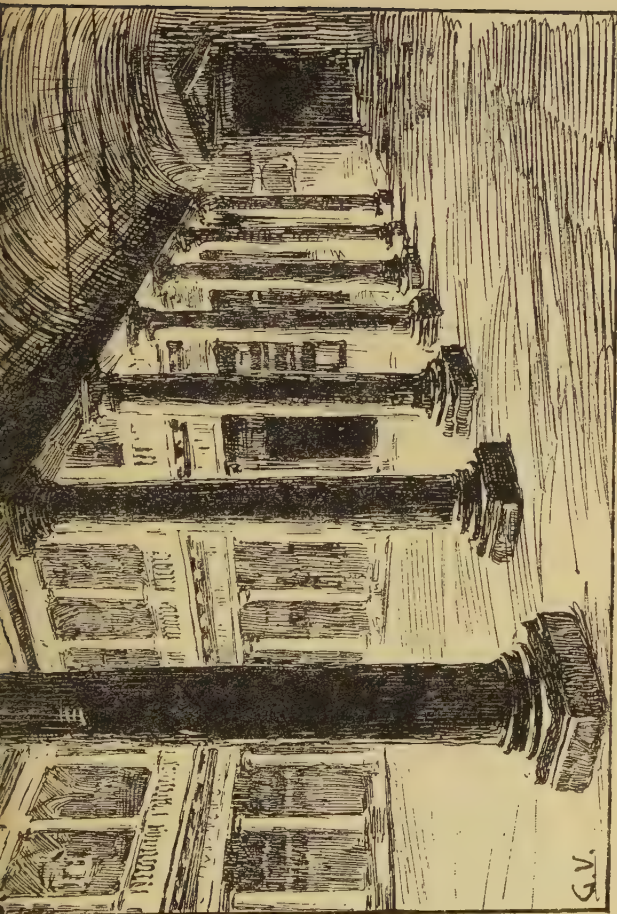
the legality of his divorce from Catherine of Aragon. Oliver Cromwell was at Padua as well as Torquato Tasso (1560); William Harvey as well as Galileo Galilei, who taught here between 1592 and 1608; two Polish kings, many cardinals and saints, dukes and scientists, also studied at Padua.

Turning our attention to the fine arts, we cannot speak of a Paduan school in painting in the same sense as we speak of a Florentine and of a Venetian school. A Paduan school, except for a short period, in fact does not exist, independent of external influences.

Early mediæval frescoes and mosaics have disappeared. Should we now try to draw inferences from political relations or from the scanty literary records and remains of architecture and illuminated missals,* we might be led to suppose that Paduan art trod the same path as early Venetian art, with a strong Byzantine influence exerted both through Venice and through Ravenna,† and with perhaps some engraftment of Gothic brought by frequent intercourse with Transalpine people. Yet this is nothing more than a supposition, which further discoveries might contradict. Giotto may be therefore considered the real creator of modern painting in Padua. There is no connection between him and previous masters in Padua. He came hither with a message of beauty and he delivered it with all the genius of his inspiration. He reached the banks of the Bacchiglione during the best period of his activity, and he endowed the town with a series of charming paintings. The seed of a new

* Some Paduan miniatures can be seen in the Episcopal library. See the paragraph about the Episcopal Palace, chapter xiv.

† The Byzantine style preserved a commanding position in Ravenna, protected as it was within the walls of the abbey of Pomposa, whence issued a school of miniaturists whose excellency may be traced in many of the later illuminators of Bologna and Ferrara.



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art had been sown, yet the soil did not prove fertile. The influence of the Florentine master was very great with all subsequent painters, yet none possessed genius enough to improve on his teachings and to take a further step towards perfection. Possibly art needed a pause in its development after such a great effort.

Apart from some frescoes in the apse of the Arena which were wrought by a pupil of the Florentine master, we find in Guariento (who died 1378) the first Paduan follower of Giotto. His paintings have unfortunately been mostly destroyed or restored, but they seem to show a Giottesque derivation. Guariento is recorded already as a master in 1338, and he was certainly influenced by the great Florentine, as may be gathered from what remains of his works, especially in the Eremitani, which may be compared with the decoration of the Salone, the latter being supposed to reproduce the old, and possibly Giottesque, decoration. Although some Venetian Byzantine artists, like Nicolò Semitecolo, who also worked here (in the Episcopal palace), only painted in the old style, Giotto's fame was very great. Petrarch in his will bequeathed to Francesco da Carrara a Madonna, "by that excellent painter, Giotto; a picture whose beauty is not perceived by ignorant onlookers, but which surprises the masters of the art."

Giusto de' Menabuoi (Giusto da Padova) cannot be considered a Paduan painter, much less to belong to the Paduan school. He was a second-rate follower of Giotto, who came from Florence to Padua in order to seek the fortune and the success that he had in vain courted in his own art-loving city. He came to Padua probably before 1367, for his tryptich in the National Gallery, which is dated in that year, shows the acquaintance of the master with the frescoes of the Arena. He was made a citizen of Padua in 1375 and

died before 1397. Modern critics deny him the praise, which Savonarola bestowed on him, for the paintings in the Baptistery and in the chapel of the Beato Luca Belludi in S. Antonio are assigned, on the authority of the Anonimo Morelliano (Marcantonio Michiel), to Giovanni and Antonio da Padova, two practically unknown masters, who are both connected with Giotto and with the Veronese Altichiero and Avanzo. The last-named are almost contemporary with the painters that we have previously mentioned. Although Altichiero di Domenico da Zevio (born 1330) had already worked in some churches at Verona and the hall of the palace of the Signory, his and his pupil Avanzo's best frescoes are to be found in Padua. They may be therefore considered as Paduan followers of Giotto. Their work will be analysed in the chapter relating to S. Antonio and S. Giorgio. We merely desire to point out here the position that they occupy in the history of Italian art. Giotto had revealed the new way which led to perfection, and gave to painting the power of telling an impressive story with deep dramatic insight. One may perhaps say that his work in Padua has been the most fruitful of all, as the greatness of his naturalistic teaching must be sought here rather than at Florence or at Assisi. Padua for a certain time rivalled Florence both in the humanistic and in the artistic revival, though her period of fruition did not last long. Venice, with the powerful attractions of unparalleled wealth and oriental pomp, robbed Padua of her masters, whereas Florence was granted many more years of grandeur. In the paintings of Avanzo and Altichiero there is often found the daring and skilful solution of technical problems, which Giotto had in vain attempted to solve, combined with the brilliant and inimitable colouring of the later Venetian painters, who must undoubtedly have studied them. The

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history of art is no longer the dull and simple record of works wrought by certain individuals. Art and social development are indissolubly linked together, and we shall never understand the real progress of art if we limit our attention merely to the consideration of masterpieces. Sometimes pictures or statues wrought by lesser masters will illumine dark gaps between different epochs and indicate the way followed by art. Therefore, even if the frescoes of Altichiero and Avanzo are bereft of the inimitable charm of eternal genius, the visitor will be surprised at their relative perfection. If a really great Paduan school had existed, if painters had lived in Padua capable of appreciating the immense importance of this advance, there would have been no need to wait for the teachings of Masaccio. The whole development of pictorial art would have been considerably hastened. Meanwhile that great classical revival which had been heralded by the Paduan pre-humanists, with Albertino Mussato (1261-1329) as their principal exponent, and which had been powerfully furthered by Petrarch and Boccaccio, reached its climax and completely held the field. Even Giotto appears sometimes to have studied classic models, especially for his architectural backgrounds and for the draperies of some of his figures. But the time for a great change was approaching. Mediæval conceptions were yielding to a revival of classic ideas. Culture and learning became the inspiring elements in art. Padua had enjoyed the privilege of an early awakening to the new ideals and of the long residence of Petrarch himself in the city. As a matter of course humanism appealed with special force to men of learning, and rapidly secured adepts among students and professors associated with the University. Padua soon became a centre of the movement. Everything seemed in fact to tend to this result: the old traditions of

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culture in the city; the Mæcenatism of the last Carraras; the presence of numbers of foreign students from all parts of Europe, who helped to maintain a great activity in the exchange of ideas, and the very fact of the political and geographical position of Padua. At the same time Venice, on account of her frequent intercourse with Constantinople, had become an important centre of Greek culture, a fact often disregarded or undervalued, and Padua's vicinity, and her dependence on Venice, contributed to render the old University town the real seat of north Italian humanism, second only to Florence.

The splendour of a princely court may have now and then brought other cities to the foreground, but these were only ephemeral growths artificially assisted by the liberality of one or another reigning lord, and not the result of permanent causes, as in Padua. It is generally admitted on the other hand that the artistic Renaissance needed an environment saturated with culture. Thus the growth of the Squarcionesque school, among two or three other secondary schools in Padua, is to be primarily traced to general causes, and not only to the achievements and influence of its founder, Francesco Squarcione (1397-1468). A close observation of Paduan fourteenth-century paintings will show that Giotto, the prophet of naturalism, nowhere more than here fell under the influence of classic art. Even his Paduan disciples and imitators, who were, as imitators mostly are, wont to emphasise both his merits and his faults, show some very significant glimpses of classicism. And yet Moschetti rightly points out that only religious paintings of this period are preserved, wherein Gothic tradition was bound to exercise its power. But each of these painters, and especially Guariento in his works in the Carrarese Reggia, offers a clear indication of the growing influence of classic models over naturalistic

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art. Moreover, recent critics have pointed out the evident dependence of some decorations wrought by Squarcionesque artists upon previous fourteenth-century works, thus emphasising the gradual evolution of Paduan painting. When Squarcione opened his school and Donatello reached the banks of the Bacchiglione they found the soil thoroughly prepared to receive the seed by the parallel development of art and culture in an intellectual town. The whole outlook upon this period has been altered by the new documents brought to light by Professor Lazzarini. Each of these documents witnesses to the veracity and reliability of the old historian Scardeoni, whose account has been somewhat flippantly treated by recent and authoritative critics. We may consequently trust Scardeoni also when his assertions have not as yet received support from documents.

Francesco Squarcione developed into an embroiderer, although he had been trained by an uncle as a tailor. He only joined the painters' guild when he had reached his thirty-second year, and after a long journey through Italy and Greece, during which he copied and sketched classic works and collected casts of ancient monuments, works of Tuscan artists, medals and coins. He had meanwhile elaborated a personal method for teaching perspective, attaining a technical perfection that constitutes the peculiar character and glory of his famous school. He was probably not gifted himself with great artistic ability, but the prominent and unique position that he acquired and retained to his death as a master and an expert on painting, just when Padua practically teemed with excellent painters and highly-esteemed artists, is the best proof of his undeniable efficiency.

At one time as many as 137 pupils and apprentices crowded his shop and availed themselves of the great

opportunity of studying ancient models from his collections. Among these pupils, who mostly lived in the master's house, as was the rule in these days, some paid a certain fee for apprenticeship, while others, more gifted or more advanced in their craft, received board and instruction in exchange for their work, or were even paid a small stipend. Squarcione adopted, at least, three of his most promising pupils, among them Andrea Mantegna and Marco Zoppo. The former was inscribed in the painters' guild as Andrea, son of Squarcione, and others were wont to add to their signature the word *Squarcionis* as an acknowledgment of their dependence on the master, or as a mark of their pride in the school. Artists are often quick-tempered, and Squarcione's temper seems to have been particularly short, hence many quarrels arose between him and his disciples.

Andrea Mantegna was the son of a carpenter of Isola di Carturo, a small village between Padua and Vicenza (1431-1506); he had been adopted, when still a boy, by Squarcione, who taught him painting, but as early as 1448 the relation of the young painter to the old master was severed. In this very year Andrea was engaged in painting the altar-piece for the church of S. Sofia, now unfortunately lost, and in 1449, besides being engaged with Pizolo at the Eremitani, he was undertaking other works. In all these works we can easily trace the great influence of antiquity on the young master, and we are struck by his faultless perspective, two qualities that more or less appear in all the paintings of Squarcione's disciples but that are particularly emphasised by Mantegna, who was a stern, wilful, self-contained genius, a truly dominant figure. The powerful jaw, the broad forehead, the deep-set eyes in the bust over his tomb at Mantua speak of great will as well as of great intellectual

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power. His archæological learning, lavishly manifested in the preciseness of each detail in his paintings, weighed lightly on his shoulders. He profited by his knowledge, and was not, as a weaker man would have been, crushed by it. He is the master of the precise line, deeply moral and stern in the representation of feeling. He never sacrificed classic composure to dramatic efficiency. In some of his paintings the influence of the famous Venetian family of colourists, the Bellinis, is evident. But his masterly employment of colour was always subordinate to his characteristic trait — exactness of line — which makes him still greater as an engraver than as a painter. Jacopo Bellini was Squarcione's great rival in artistic enterprise. The latter felt, naturally, hurt when Andrea in 1454 married Nicolosa, Jacopo's daughter; and while Mantegna was still his son by adoption, he adopted, in 1455, Marco de' Ruggeri da Bologna (born 1433), the very gifted young painter known as Marco Zoppo. Mantegna then brought an action against Squarcione, and the Court declared the adoption void on account of Mantegna's minority. Nevertheless, Marco, too, soon found the stringent legal agreement that bound him to Squarcione distasteful, and he transferred himself to Venice. Another famous pupil of the leading Paduan school was the so-called Gregorio Schiavone (born 1436), whose real name was Giorgio Chiulinovich di Tomaso of Sebenico; he entered as an apprentice in Squarcione's *bottega* in 1455, and left it three years later, taking with him some of the most precious drawings and casts of the school. Squarcione never succeeded in getting them returned, and Giorgio came back to Padua only after the master's death, and probably to take his place at the head of the school. But even a short and summary account of this glorious

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period of Paduan art would be incomplete if Nicolò di Pietro of Villa Ganzerla, called Pizolo (the little one; 1421-1453?), were not mentioned. He had been for a time Squarcione's disciple, and after having worked with Filippino Lippi and Ansuino da Forlì at the destroyed frescoes in the Cappella del Podesta, he entered (1446-1448) Donatello's workshop in Padua and wrought at least one of the angels for the high altar in S. Antonio, thus forming the connecting link between the two "schools," if indeed such a connection was necessary in order that the inspiring originality of Donatello's works might bear its due fruit. Unfortunately this gifted painter and promising sculptor was killed in a street fight when still in his early thirties. Palla Strozzi, the Florentine exile who had settled in Padua in 1434, is supposed to have been the cause of the coming of Donatello to the north.

Sculpture in Padua, putting aside the two curious tombs of the Evangelists in S. Giustina, was quite devoid of any national character. The relief from the older building in the same church is Venetian, and a close Venetian derivation is shown by other plastic works in Padua, which are mostly limited to tombs, such as the sepulchre of Rainerio degli Arsendi in S. Antonio. Even statues were wrought by Venetian artists like Andriolo de' Santi, whose work we may see in the chapel of S. Felice and in S. Giorgio. Solitary exceptions were the statues of Giovanni Pisano in the Arena chapel. Thus the plastic art of the Renaissance may be considered to enter Padua with Donatello. Apart from the technical peculiarities of relief, his works in the Santo were wonderful examples of power and precision. The beautiful details and the treatment of space and decoration, and the attention bestowed on form, soon in-

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spired Mantegna and his friends. Therefore the influence of the Florentine master, which may have contributed to the formation of Mantegna's style, cannot be over-estimated. Donatello was accompanied by many pupils, the cleverest of them being Giovanni da Pisa, the author of the altar-piece in the Chapel Ovetari at the Eremitani. Yet Bartolomeo Bellano, who died 1498 and who seems to have joined Donatello's school during the master's stay in Padua, left the most characteristic works; but the new teaching was partly lost on this artist, already shaped by previous practice and altogether too strictly Paduan and rugged to be polished into a real Renaissance sculptor. His pupil, Andrea Briosco, called Riccio (1470-1532), devoted himself mostly to bronze reliefs, and was strongly affected by the Venetian school of the later period.

Meanwhile Mantegna was soaring like an eagle over the whole field of north-Italian art. In Padua, painters, architects, and even painters on porcelain, were influenced by his genius. His fellow-pupils lost their personality in an imitation of the young master. Works such as the remains of the decoration of the Scuola di S. Marco and S. Sebastiano, now in the Museum (No. 402 and following), witness to the unchallenged hegemony held by Mantegna in Padua nearly a score of years after his departure from his native town. Jacopo de' Parisati da Montagnana (born about 1440), who entered the painters' guild in 1469, must be considered as much an imitator of Mantegna as of the Bellinis, although he really was a pupil of Francesco Bazalieri, another Paduan master, whereas Bernardo Parentino appears as a follower of Andrea. Paduan miniaturists walk in Mantegna's steps, while Lorenzo and Cristoforo Canozii da Lendinara in their intarsia works evinced their de-

pendence upon the Squarcionesque school. The two latter, in 1461, reprinted the Bible of Gutenberg, and, later, other books; the woodcuts in their prints, as well as in others, are quite in the style of Mantegna. The Brescian, Bartolomeo Montagna, (1450?-1526?) was himself quite mastered by this stern and grand art.

Yet the character of the classic revival was rapidly changing, and consequently the importance of Padua was gradually diminishing. The Renaissance had brought with it a Pagan tendency towards luxurious living. Great expenditure was entailed by the support of a group of artists. The preparatory period, which needed a highly-cultivated environment, was passed, and the artists were naturally more and more driven towards the pompous courts of princes or the wealth of the Queen of the Lagoons. Mantegna himself had settled in Mantua. His severe style was becoming less and less attuned to the extravagance and love of pleasure of the fully-developed Renaissance. The deep golden hues of Venice so richly transfused into Venetian paintings overcame the Mantegnesque tradition. Titian was at work in Padua in the early 1500; but his frescoes cannot be very well taken into consideration while summarising the history of Paduan painting apart from their undeniable influence on other artists. The art of Girolamo Romanino of Brescia (1501-1566) must be related to that of Titian. Giulio Campagnola, his son, Domenico, Girolamo del Santo (1480?-1550?), Gualtieri, who probably belonged to the family Campagnola, Stefano dall'Arzere and the later Friulian, Sebastiano Florigerio, all belong to the strictly Titianesque school. Even the later Alessandro Varotari (1590-1631?), called *il Padovanino*, derives from the great colourist, and although *Padovanino's* father, Dario Varotari (1539-1596) adheres more to the Veronese school, his ex-

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ception does but prove the absolute dependence of Paduan art upon Venice. This dependence had at the same time been established in the plastic art. Donatello's dramatic power had been stiffened in Bellano's compositions, and had soon been superseded by the classic composure of the Venetian Lombardi. As Donatello's works on the high altar of the Santo had marked the beginning of his artistic hegemony, the decoration of the new shrine of St. Anthony was its close. Giovanni Minello de' Bardi, who was entrusted with the plan of the chapel, was still a Paduan at heart; his style, rather devoid of personality, may be seen in his works at the Eremitani; but the reliefs on the walls of the chapel must be traced to the Lombardi, Antonio and Tullio, to Minello himself in a mood of strict adherence to the Lombardi manner, to Jacopo Tatti, called Sansovino (1480-1570), and to minor Paduan artists, who treated the scenes in purely Venetian and classic fashion. The Veronese Giovanni Maria Falconetto (1458-1534) is also a strict imitator of ancient art. Bartolomeo Ammanati, though Sansovino's pupil, reminds us that Michelangelo was then the sun of the world of art. Tiziano Aspetti (1565-1607), another pupil of Sansovino and Vecellio's nephew, adheres more to the Venetian school. Thus down to the epoch of the baroque, represented by a few notable works, and to the modern Classicism, led by Antonio Canova (1757-1822), Paduan art had lost all individuality.

Paduan architecture, in regard to the churches and the official buildings, shows no particular style, being altogether devoid of characteristic features, while S. Antonio has an individuality of its own and cannot be reasonably taken into account. The original private buildings of the early mediæval centuries are almost completely wrecked. For the rest the visitor will notice

that Padua preserves a stronger Gothic tradition than most towns of North Italy. Houses and palaces in Padua were architecturally limited by the fixed boundaries of the continuous arcades linking one house to another. As Volkmann points out, the freedom of the designers was severely hampered by these limitations. No great palace, such as we admire in Florence or in Venice, could be erected here. The decoration was necessarily shifted to the first story and limited even there. It consisted solely of the decoration of the central fenestration, with two, three, or five light windows, as is the case in the poorer Venetian examples. Yet these limitations were not absolutely harmful, as they produced a uniformity of line peculiar to Paduan architecture. Even the advent of the Renaissance did not bring great changes. The arcading of the windows assumed more classic and simpler shapes, the window-heads widened from the pointed Gothic to the classic arch. And this uniformity bestows on the narrow streets of the city a sedate and uniformly pleasing character.

CHAPTER VIII

The Arrival—Caffè Pedrocchi—The University.

PADUA did not play such a leading part in the political or artistic history of Italy as to draw down upon her universal attention; nor did she possess artistic charm sufficient to arrest the traveller "doing" Italy in a hurried tour. Venice, when absorbing Padua, deprived her not only of her political independence, but more than once extinguished her artistic originality and is still an ungenerous neighbour. The Queen of the Adriatic draws the traveller with her unparalleled might; he hurries past Padua on his way to Venice, and is there saturated with artistic delight; on his return he is hardly attuned to the peculiar and deeper charm of the smaller town. Venice is grandeur, art in its full blossom, magnificence and wealth. In Padua one must listen to the quieter voices of Primitive masters, of scholars and of Humanists; one must trace, in an insignificant chapel, Giotto's masterpieces; and the real merit of the pictures in S. Giorgio cannot be realised unless the general condition of the art of that period is appreciated. Yet Padua, "civitas regia," has been very richly endowed by artists, nay, we may affirm that few cities can present to the art-lover a better opportunity of studying art in its early evolutionary stages.

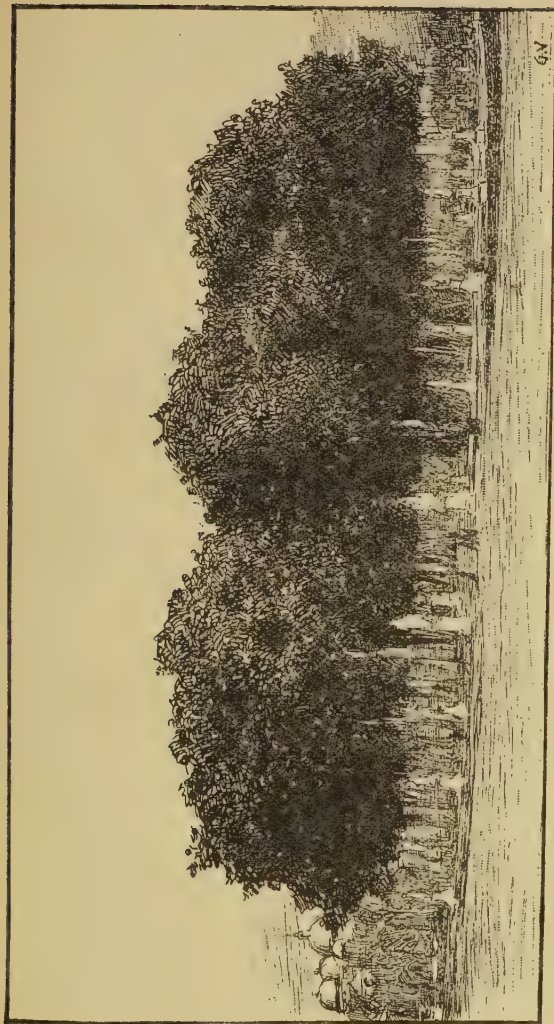
The citizens of Padua are proud of their town and are well aware of its importance. A Paduan would

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not fail to set before the interested traveller the numerous titles to fame possessed by the little town: her legendary foundation; the little-known but easily reconstructed pre-Roman and Roman period; the splendour of her communal life and her inestimable artistic monuments. He would point out the tradition of her evangelisation by S. Prosdocimo and the supposed tombs of SS. Luke and Matthew in S. Giustina; he would certainly dwell upon prominent indications of an early Humanistic revival; upon Petrarch's love for the city of the Carraras and the general estimation in which he was held; and would at last recall with a triumphant smile the glories of the University. Venice conquered but could not and would not deprive her of her scientific importance. Modern Padua has recorded in Pra' della Valle most of the great men connected with her. Perhaps her enthusiastic worship of St. Anthony is partly responsible for Padua's other charms being so little known. People in Italy and abroad are wont to identify the town with the great miracle-worker, and forget that St. Anthony has been but one of Padua's great men, and that the church of S. Antonio is but one and not by any means the most significant of her monuments.

The traveller who may or may not have caught a glimpse from the train of the domes of S. Antonio and S. Giustina, will doubtless feel disappointed when first entering the narrow and tortuous streets of Padua; but a few hours spent there will end in appreciation, and her charm will slowly but surely find its way to his heart.

English people cannot easily realise the position held in Venetian life by the *caffè*, and Padua of all towns boasts a *caffè* that is the real heart of the city. A few words therefore must be given to it. Towards the beginning of the nineteenth century a hard-working



THE PRATO DELLA VALLE

Caffè Pedrocchi

and painstaking innkeeper devoted the considerable savings of a long and laborious life to the building of a stately caffè in the very centre of the town.* This public-spirited man (for later he presented the caffè to the town) instructed the architect to erect the largest and best appointed caffè in the world; and Giuseppe Japelli, whom he employed, endeavoured with considerable success to adapt the building to its purpose. On the ground floor three large inter-communicating rooms form the real caffè; towards the Piazzetta Pedrocchi is the Stock Exchange; on the first floor a club, or "circolo:" indeed the building is correctly termed the heart of Padua. The obliging waiters will point out to the visitor the table where the University professors sit, and the table around which the officials of the town generally assemble. But day and night the caffè is filled with cheerful and noisy groups of students (for the Bo' lies nearly opposite) and by townsmen of all sorts and conditions. Some Paduans habitually cross the three rooms of the caffè exchanging friendly nods with their acquaintances, rather than walk outside it along the "Via 8 Febbraio."

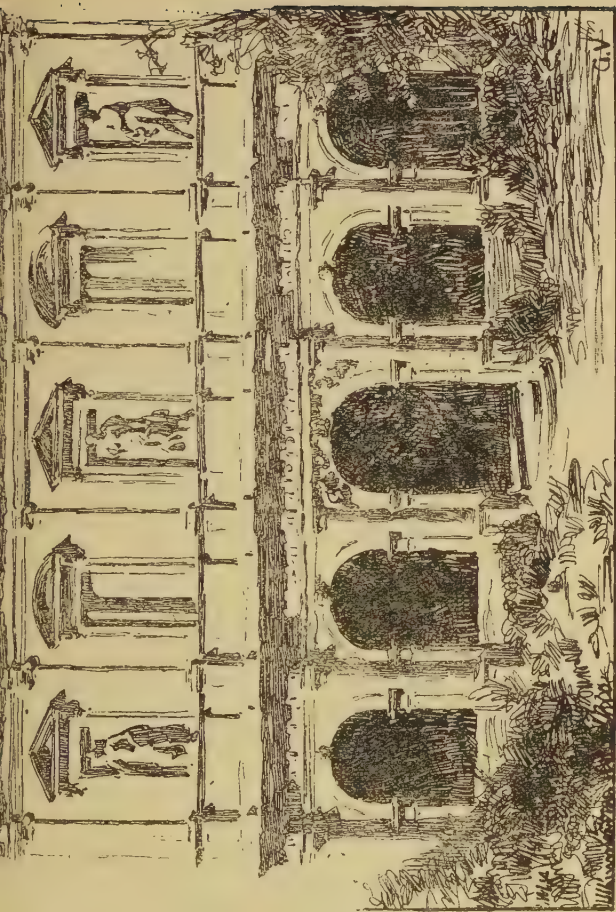
Opposite the caffè is the post office and past the little square where the Teatro Garibaldi lies, between the Via Cassa di Risparmio and the Via S. Francesco, rises the University. The building originally belonged to the Maltraversi, a most noble Paduan family; later it was owned by the Papafava dei Carraresi, and in 1405 it became the property of the Bonzanini. One of the members of this family, himself a student of law, let it on a long lease to the Venetian Signory,

* During the excavations made in 1819 for the building of Caffè Pedrocchi, now leased by the municipality to a private firm, the Roman remains were discovered which we find scattered about the town.

who desired to collect into one building the various schools of the University, which were scattered about in different parts of the city (1493). For the last score of years the building had been used as the "Ox Inn" (*Osteria del Bo'*), and on account of its comfortable accommodation, it became so renowned, that the name was transferred to the University; even now the site is better known as the "Bo'" than as the "Sapienza" (Wisdom). The palace had formerly two crenellated towers, one of which has been demolished; the battlements were levelled down, and the other tower used as a belfry (1571-72). In 1603 was added a bell, and later, a clock. The simple façade received its present shape 1591-1601, its chief ornament being the portal with the two Doric half-columns on each side, and the broad architrave; but the general outline* was probably already fixed in 1552. The portal† leads through a large passage also supported on Doric columns, to the magnificent courtyard, surrounded by a Doric colonnade spanned by a Doric frieze, and by an upper loggia of Ionic columns, connected by a simple marble balustrade and spanned by an elegantly carved frieze. This structure was often ascribed to Palladio, and, under that supposition much overpraised; but everything seems to point to Jacopo Tatti (Sansovino) having been the architect; and in spite of some technical shortcomings it is certainly the most pleasing building of the later Renaissance in Padua (1547). The walls and ceiling of both these loggie, as well as those of the staircases,

* Of course the southern part of the building has, from an architectural point of view, nothing whatever to do with the old Bo', and was only added later to meet the increasing demand for accommodation.

† When the portal is closed admission is gained at No. 9 in the same road. To proceed beyond the courtyard apply to the attendants in the corridor on the L.



THE GARDEN HOUSE OF PALAZZO CORNARO

The University

of the Aula Magna, of other class-rooms and of the passage admitting to the more modern part of the Sapienza, are lined with more than three thousand escutcheons, partly frescoed and partly sculptured : a few support a marble bust, or an inscription, giving the names of the officials of the University, mostly students at the head of the various corporations, who were elected every six months or every year.

It is curious to notice that, as these shields were generally wrought at the same time, a sort of hierarchy is maintained in their disposition, according to the importance of the offices held by the students and their nationality. The hierarchical order is sometimes disturbed in the case of sculptured shields, which were occasionally removed, pending restoration of the walls, while the painted shields were destroyed. With few exceptions these escutcheons are the work of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From the ground floor, two wide and open staircases admit to the upper loggia, and a door facing the main portal leads to the Aula Magna, a spacious hall, lined with shields, whose peculiar effect is rather spoiled by a modern symbolic painting. Here the famous Galileo Galilei taught mathematics between 1598 and 1608 ; his bust may be seen on the wall. The visitor may be interested in viewing here the earliest anatomical theatre. Alessandro Benedetti was the first to introduce this novel arrangement for demonstration, but up to 1540 the lecture-room was quite temporary. In 1553-54 plans were made for the present building, which was completed in 1594, it is stated, under Fra Paolo Sarpi's supervision. Fabrizio d'Acquapendente, the great anatomist who as early as 1574 discovered the valvular construction of the veins, then held the chair, and his bust may here be seen. William Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood,

The Story of Padua

studied here under his beloved master Fabrizio, between 1597-1602. The theatre was fitted with raised benches of carved wood, on which the students stood; the favourites were chosen to hold the tapers around the master's table. As recently as 1844 the present top window was pierced through the ceiling.

CHAPTER IX

*Selciato del Santo—Piazza del Santo—
Equestrian Statue of Gattamelata—
Palazzo Giustinian (gia' Cornaro)*

FROM Via Otto Febbraio, passing the University, we turn southward by Via S. Francesco; after a few paces we cross Ponte S. Lorenzo, a Roman bridge on the "Via Adriensis," built with wedge-shaped blocks of stone soldered with lead. Formerly it had three arches, but the first and last are now buried beneath the houses; a little higher up on the L. we come to a late Renaissance palace (No. 9), recently restored, which an inscription claims to have been Dante's dwelling-place. Opposite lies the so-called Sepolcro di Antenore, in the narrow road (vicolo) leading to the adjoining Corte S. Stefano (*see* p. 2). The monument is interesting in itself, as it is formed by a tomb of rough stone, covered by a pointed roof, with reliefs on the four sides and supported by four short columns; its story is even more interesting. In 1275, during some excavations in the grounds of the hospital (Casa di Dio Vecchia), the corpse of a knight was discovered, together with two vases containing golden coins and a well-preserved sword.* A curious idea took possession of some noble Paduans newly awakened to the worship of antiquity, and Lovato de' Lovati, a learned judge and Latin

* This sword was, in 1334, presented as a token of obedience to Alberto della Scala.

The Story of Padua

poet, praised even by Petrarch, and one of the first promoters of Humanism in Northern Italy, was one of its strongest upholders: the interred warrior was no less a personage than Antenore himself, the founder of Padua. As such he was entitled to special honours, and was endowed with the present monument, erected about 1283. Lovato caused the inscription to be placed on the tomb, which was set up between his own house and the sepulchre he had prepared for himself.* The monument stands on the site of the demolished church of S. Lorenzo. In the Corte S. Stefano, is the palace of the Prefettura. No. 11, in Via S. Francesco, is a late Renaissance building. We next reach Via Selciato del Santo and turn into it. A passing glimpse may be cast on No. 18-18A, next to the old Palazzo Dottori (built 1775), with some restored monochrome decorations, hardly more than faint recollections of better days, and No. 53, a house with some elegant Gothic arches. At length we debouch into Piazza del Santo—a vast, irregular square, adorned by some of the most remarkable artistic works in Padua. It was in olden times often crowded with pilgrims, flocking to the tomb of the Santo † from all parts of the world. Up to 1596, a famous fair, afterwards removed to Pra' della Valle, used to be held here, thus surrounding S. Antonio with the vociferations of tradesmen, hawkers and the like, and inviting into the square the quarrelsome tribe of turbulent students and courtesans.

The church lies on the L.; opposite are the different buildings adjoining the cloisters of the monastery; then, a little further back, the white modern structure

* This tomb was removed when S. Lorenzo was levelled to the ground, and after some vicissitudes found a resting-place in the courtyard of the Civico Museo.

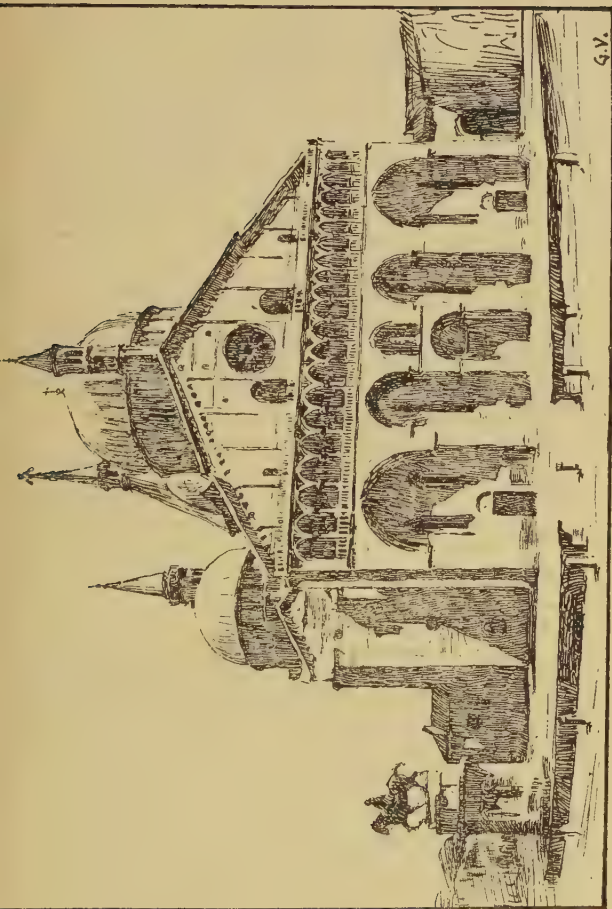
† The Paduans are accustomed to call St. Anthony and his church simply “il Santo,” the Saint.

Piazza del Santo

of the Museum. On the R. are some old houses, one of which, No. 17, claims by an inscription the honour of having been inhabited by Donatello in 1450. On a high pedestal, the statue of Gattamelata, like a sentry, towers against the sky. Donatello (Donato di Betto Bardi), the famous Florentine master, had been called to Padua in 1443 to decorate the high altar of the Santo, and so pleased were the Paduans with his work that the erection of this monument was entrusted to him. Donatello's art came as a surprise to the Paduans, being to them the first true and genial manifestation of the artistic Renaissance. His influence on Paduan art is only comparable with that of Giotto more than a century before, and must be kept in mind when considering later works, as in many of them Donatello's influence is quite evident. Erasmo da Narni, called Gattamelata (the honeyed cat), either for his unctuous politeness or more probably from his mother's name, had been a comparatively faithful and fortunate condottiere to the Venetian Republic. At his death (1443), his wife, Giacomina Leonessa, and his son, Gian Antonio, had been granted by the Signory the necessary permission to erect a monument to his memory (1447). Donatello must have been highly elated at the opportunity that was thus offered to him to exercise his genius on a great equestrian statue. No artist had been favoured by such good fortune since classic times, and Donatello, like all his fellow-artists in the Renaissance, yearned for those days. Nor could such fortune befall a better man. The old Florentine master (born 1383), conceived and executed a monument that stands as an unparalleled model to sculptors of all times. On its completion in 1453, Donatello was rewarded with 1650 golden ducats (about £825). The powerful steed is particularly admirable and has been evidently moulded on the horses

of St. Mark, brought to Venice from Constantinople in 1204, which are said to be by Lysippus; yet the lithe, stern condottiere sits firmly on his charger, "mastering him in bronze as he easily mastered him in life." The saddle and armour are lavishly decorated, and on the breastplate is a gorgon; but the head of the general himself is even more impressive in its sculptural simplicity. The pedestal is plain; on each side under the plinth is a marble relief representing two angels supporting the escutcheon of the condottiere.* Beneath are two doors, which seem to admit to the sepulchre. The casting of such a great statue, it may be pointed out, had never been attempted since ancient times. On the N. side of the square, which narrows in Via Cesarotti, is the Palazzo Giustinian (No. 21), erected on the site where the house of Alvise Cornaro stood. There is a twofold interest in this building in connection both with Falconetto's works in the garden and with the old proprietor himself, who was certainly one of the most characteristic personalities of the Renaissance. Alvise Cornaro (1467-1565) was a wealthy nobleman, who held both hands before the fire of life till he had reached middle age, when an alarming illness befell him, from which he very slowly recovered. This sickness effected an absolute change in his mode of life and rendered him such an enthusiastic supporter of moderation and temperance, that he wrote a book (1550) to prove how moderation had primarily saved his life and enabled him consequently to attain a great age, enjoying perfect health and good spirits, and exempt from all its shortcomings. He was eighty-three years old when he wrote the book, and was then able to vault unaided

* Copies have been lately substituted for the originals, which were much damaged, and are now preserved in the passage between the two larger cloisters of S. Antonio.



S. ANTONIO, FAÇADE AND DONATELLO'S STATUE

Palazzo Cornaro

on to his horse, to visit friends and to appreciate all the beauty of nature and art, and all the comforts of social life and philosophical meditation. Leonardo da Vinci, and even more Leon Battista Alberti, generally embody for us the special versatility of the Renaissance period, both gifted with genial minds and strong bodies; but they were exceptional individuals, and Alvisé Cornaro, the perfectly balanced man, reveals to us and emphasises the advantages of this classic many-sidedness.

Giovanni Maria Falconetto (1458-1534) was introduced to Cornaro by Pietro Bembo, the future Cardinal, and soon gained the friendship of that nobleman, who entertained him in Padua as his guest for many a year. At the back of Cornaro's palace Falconetto erected a garden-house, the pride of Cornaro's heart, as a decoration for the garden itself, and as a commodious hall for entertainments. Facing the house is a small stone building of strictly classical architecture, with an open loggia on the ground floor, and in the upper story an empty hall, bare of decoration inside, which was evidently used for banquets. Externally, in three niches, are statues of Apollo, Diana and Venus, and two genii in the spandrels of the central arch of the loggia. Within the loggia are some interesting frescoes framed in white stucco. A double arcade joins the south-eastern corner of the loggia southward to the Casino, and the same arcade, now charmingly covered with creepers, leads from the Casino to the house. The Casino is two-storied and divided into many small rooms, which seem to have been in continuous use and boast some elegant white stucco decorations; enclosed and surrounded by the smaller rooms is a central octagonal music-room; the second story is partly occupied by an open loggia. The statues of Acteon and Diana on the sides of the entrance, as well as those

in the niches of the loggia, are by "Zuan Padovano," but it is doubtful whether this designates G. M. Mosca or Giovanni Dentone. The interior decorations were clearly wrought under the influence of Raphael's designs in the loggie of the Vatican. These curiously mixed stuccoes and frescoes convey a charming impression even in their present wretched condition; Falconetto was helped by his sons and by Bartolomeo Ridolfi in the stucco work, and by Domenico Campagnola in the fresco painting. The general plan of these garden buildings, erected in 1524, leads to the supposition that Cornaro may have intended to build on the site of his house a mansion corresponding architecturally to the Casino and the loggia; and we may conjecture that it was owing to his refusal to sacrifice the frescoes, painted 1511-12 on the façade of the house by Campagnola and perhaps also by Gerolamo dal Santo (both working after the plans of Titian), that the scheme was never carried out. These fine paintings are now unfortunately destroyed.

CHAPTER X

The Church of St. Anthony

ALTHOUGH the whole Franciscan spirit is opposed to unnecessary display, St. Francis himself and his most famous disciple, St. Anthony, were the recipients of worldly honours from their contemporaries. It is told of the great Assisian that when he perceived the new building erected, against his will, for the Chapter of the Order, he climbed to the roof with his companions and attempted to destroy it. The saintly native of Lisbon lived many months in a small hut of straw and wattle, and wrote his last sermons sitting amid the branches of a tree ; he is thus represented in a picture in the vestibule of the Scuola del Santo (*see* Ch. XI.).

Both shrank from the world, yet to both, in Assisi and in Padua, two richly decorated churches were dedicated, whereon communities and private worshippers lavishly spent their money. Human nature, and its tendency towards display, will thwart in a short time all attempts on the part of pious reformers to maintain real Christian simplicity. About 1250 even the Franciscans were influenced by this passion, and joined in the general demand for richer and better decorated churches.

Fernand Martins de Bulhom, who after 1220 was known as Friar Anthony, died on his way to Padua when journeying from the castle of his friend, Tisone da Camposampiero, 13th June 1231. The good and pious Franciscan, whom a powerful voice, a touching

The Story of Padua

eloquence and an indefatigable devotion to the poor and sick had rendered the idol of the whole province of Padua, was worshipped during the last years of his life and after his death. Apart from the miracles he is supposed to have wrought, the numerous conversions he prompted by his eloquent preaching at Forlì, the daring and dangerous attempts to diminish the oppression of Ezzelino's tyranny, his preference for Padua endeared him to the people; and when he fell a victim to dropsy on his way to that city, no precautions could prevent the news from spreading with miraculous rapidity; children ran through the roads shouting "E' morto il Santo;" and noblemen and artisans, laymen and priests, hastened down to Arcella in grief and sorrow. A pupil of Titian (perhaps Domenico Campagnola) gave an expressive, if somewhat classically constrained, representation of the touching scene in his painting in the Scuola del Santo. The common voice, long before the Pope's decision, exalted Friar Anthony to the honours of sanctity, and he was formally canonised at Spoleto, 30th May 1232, less than a year after his death.

Anthony's wish was to be buried in Santa Maria Mater Domini, and the Paduans, after a short struggle, obtained the body of the Saint from the monks of Arcella. But it was soon afterwards decided to erect to his honour a far more worthy church than the little Santa Maria.

Municipal jealousy was soon at work; it prompted the citizens to begin the construction of a church, "which should rival St. Mark's at Venice or St. Francis' at Assisi."

According to Vasari's account, the plans for the building were designed by Nicolò Pisano. But Vasari's attributions are to be received with caution. Nicolò is supposed to have been the architect of

The Church of St. Anthony

nearly all the famous buildings in Northern Italy, erected during the first part of the thirteenth century. In truth Nicolò could hardly have found time to attend to one-half of these buildings, but "gold flows to the rich," as the Italian proverb says, and thus even the design of the church of St. Anthony is ascribed to the great master.

The Gothic architecture of this temple may be compared with that of the church of St. Francis in Assisi, of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, and of St. Francis in Bologna; all Franciscan churches, "whose main lines have been traced back to the cathedrals of Worms, Spiers, Bonn and Cologne." Such uniformity points to the existence of some structural rules in the Order itself; and perhaps starting from them some unknown monk sketched the first plan of the temple, which underwent many modifications before reaching its present form.

The building was entrusted, if many structural peculiarities do not mislead the modern critic, to some Lombard guild of masons, perhaps the famous guild of "the *magistri Comacini*" itself, which is responsible for the execution of the church of St. Francis in Bologna, and of the cathedral of Milan. One may gather from the two paintings by Filippo da Verona in the Scuola del Santo (Ezzelino reproached by the Saint, and the Saint foretelling to his disciple, Luca Belludi, Padua's liberation from Ezzelino's tyranny) that originally the external appearance of the church, especially in the façade, was more in accordance with the usual simplicity of the Gothic cathedrals erected in these years by the Franciscans. Later alterations and adornments, we may safely say, spoilt the primitive appearance of the church, and debased its spiritual significance.

Soon after the Saint's death, just when the build-

The Story of Padua

ing was started, Ezzelino's and his vicar Ansedisio's gruesome tyranny raged in Padua; the clergy, who suffered most, and the citizens, who trembled, a prey to terror, were distracted from pious works and thus the building of the church of St. Anthony was interrupted or proceeded irregularly until after Ezzelino's death (1256). But thenceforth it must have been continued with great alacrity, the money being provided by many generous donors. The Mendicant Orders possessing the right to bury the dead within the precincts of their buildings, were able to grant permission to wealthy and influential families, their supporters, to erect family chapels and sepulchral monuments in their churches. Many families availed themselves largely of such permission, thus enriching the churches with marvellous works of art and aiding the general decoration. In 1263 Santa Maria Mater Domini had to be demolished, the chapel of Santa Maria Mora alone being spared, and the body of the Saint, covered with a pompous shroud, was transferred from its temporary tomb to the new shrine. St. Bonaventura was present and bore testimony to the miraculous preservation of the tongue from corruption. Forty-four years later (in 1307) the church was practically completed from the open façade (the arches were closed later, at the end of the fifteenth century, and then assumed their present appearance) to the peculiarly Franciscan choir. The cupolas were raised to their present height during the fourteenth century.

The shrewd judgment of an English architect* strongly imbued with the classic prejudices of his time, describes the pride of Padua as a "vast pile of uncommon ugliness in every part, exhibiting seven domes, a small octagonal tower above the gable of the

* Joseph Woods, *Letters of an Architect from France, Italy, and Greece*, I. p. 245. London, 1828.

The Church of St. Anthony

front, two high octagonal towers near the choir and a lofty cone in the centre, surmounted by an angel." A modern traveller will hardly subscribe to this judgment, as he cannot fail to be impressed by the imposing mass of the temple, which will attract him in spite of the crying discord between the main Gothic fabric and the Byzantine superstructure.

The church is built in the shape of a Latin cross, the transept measuring 185 ft. and the central nave 385 ft. A central cupola towers up to 201 ft.; the nave is 85 ft. wide; two octagonal and two small towers, each adorned by a tier of graceful columns spanned by round arches, complete the upper structure with that uncertainty of style peculiar to transitional periods.

The façade may be ascribed to the Romanesque-Gothic style: it is plainly wrought in brick in harmony with the whole of the church, displaying four narrow and lofty arches, two of them, nearer to the angles of the building, inclosing the side doors. The main portal is surmounted by an archivolt, beneath which Mantegna painted in 1452 a fresco of St. Anthony and St. Bernardine adoring Christ's monogram, but this painting having been roughly restored in the eighteenth century, its testimony to the master's earlier manner is practically worthless. The inscription under it witnesses, in its simplicity, to Mantegna's youthful self-consciousness. The bronze gates have been cast from drawings of Professor Camillo Boito at the end of last century. Above the portal, in a niche, stands a modern bronze statue of the Saint; behind is a mediæval fresco, quite impossible to identify after Zanoni's unconscionable repainting in 1769. The second story of the façade consists of a tier of round arches on slender marble columns, forming a narrow gallery.

If the general external appearance is impressive

The Story of Padua

rather than pleasing, on entering the church this feeling is by no means lessened.

The nave, separated from the aisles by massive pillars, conveys at first sight a distressing impression of bareness, bereft as it is of the mosaics or frescoes, which constitute the real charm of most churches of



S. ANTONIO—THE PARADISO CLOISTER

this period. Such vast spaces demand polychromatic decoration, and indeed the church was during the fifteenth century decorated with frescoes of the Paduan school; but unfortunately the paintings were damaged by damp and they disappeared altogether during the rage for whitewash in 1749. Faded and hardly appreciable traces of these works have been brought to light by recent efforts, but their restoration is impossible. Therefore a new scheme of

The Church of St. Anthony

decoration has been decided upon and has been partly carried out above the high altar, according to the plans of the architects Collamarini and Rubiani and of the painter Casanova. A plan of the new frescoes hangs on the fifth pillar on the R. next to the pulpit.

But if the visitor will turn his attention from a general survey to the consideration of details, what wealth of varied yet supreme beauty will meet his gaze ; what abundance of interesting and unexpected revelations of primitive art are preserved within these dim chapels.

We enter from the R. side door ; on the L. of the entrance in a niche is a fresco by an unknown Paduan, representing Christ supported by Mary Magdalen, the Virgin and St. John. Next to the first pillar is the first altar with a Bellinesque painting on wood by Antonio Boselli (sixteenth century) ; above it a fresco of the Veronese school (Filippo da Verona?). Opposite the altar the rich tomb of Simone Ardeo, a Professor of Law who died in 1537. Passing the second and third altars, which merely display some modern irrelevant pictures, we reach the fourth altar or Cappella del Sacramento, which was erected and decorated at the expense of Giacoma Leonessa, Erasmo da Narni's widow. On the L. is the simple Gothic tomb of Gattamelata himself, a sarcophagus with the recumbent figure of the condottiere under a Gothic arch. The inscription is by G. A. Pandoni, a celebrated Humanist. On the R. is the tomb, similar in style, of Antonio, Gattamelata's son, who died 1456 ; it is more nobly inspired and more finely executed, and was probably wrought by Donatello's pupil, Bartolomeo Bellano. The tabernacle is by Gerolamo Campagna and Cesare Franco (1579). Formerly, most of Donatello's bronzes, now on the high altar, stood here. The frescoes painted in this

chapel by Jacopo Montagnana, Matteo del Pozzo and P. Calzetta (1470-1474) are entirely wrecked. On the pillar facing the chapel hangs Tiepolo's picture, the martyrdom of St. Agata, a powerful work but too modernly conceived. Opposite the uninteresting sixth altar (Cappella del Crocifisso) is the tomb of Ottorino Ferrari, a University professor, who died 1682, which shows the depth to which bad taste could descend, even in a clever artist, during the seventeenth century.

We next reach one of the most important chapels in the church, which forms a highly interesting contrast, with its Gothic architecture and primitive decoration, to the wholly Renaissance monument of St. Anthony in the opposite chapel. This chapel was formerly dedicated to St. James, the patron of one of the founders, but since Pope St. Felix's body was translated hither in 1504, its name has been changed. The founder was Bonifacio Lupi dei Marchesi di Soragna, a noble condottiere, who was befriended by the Carrarese; the work of construction and decoration lasted from 1372 till 1382. This Cappella S. Felice, which receives light from a small window on the R., presents a charming if restrained Gothic façade towards the church; five pointed arches spanning a row of six graceful columns of red Veronese brocatello, with foliated, gilded capitals, support its façade, whose heaviness is relieved by a red and white scale decoration.* Above the columns stand five statues of saints (SS. James, Peter, Paul, Boniface and Catherine) under small tabernacles. The statues are by the Venetian Andriolo de' Santi, the architect of the chapel. On the whole the polychromatic decoration and the cable mouldings of the

* The cornice as well as the four statues above it date from the full Renaissance. The organ and choir have been recently built.

The Church of St. Anthony

arches render this chapel a very fine example of the pleasing Veneto-Gothic architecture.

Entering the chapel the traveller will notice the altar, a later work executed by the Paduans Giovanni Minello and Francesco "de Quola" in 1503-04. On it are five statues representing the Virgin, St. Felix, St. James, St. Peter and St. Paul, all but the second (which was sculptured by Minello) having been wrought by Master Rainaldino, Andriolo's disciple, in 1379.

The naïve fresco decoration represents the story of St. James and was painted by three artists, all belonging to the early Veronese school, but of varying degrees of craftsmanship and inspiration, more or less influenced by the great Giotto cycle in the Arena Chapel. Schulbring * seems to have succeeded, by careful comparison, in suggesting a satisfactory division of the different artists' work. Altichiero of Verona was the master entrusted by the Soragna with the decoration of the chapel, and he was paid 792 golden ducats † for the work on its completion in 1379. On the southern wall, Altichiero wrought a large Crucifixion in the three compartments formed by the columns partially penetrating the wall: (1) on the R., soldiers casting lots for Christ's garments; (2) in the middle is the Crucifixion; (3) on the L. the return to Jerusalem St. Mary and Mary Magdalen weeping amid an indifferent or hostile crowd. The story of St. James begins in the lunette on eastern side. Hermogenes, a Mahomedan magician, disdaining to fight the enemy himself, had sent his disciple, Filetus, to dispute with St. James, but the Saint soon forced the evil spirits, evoked by Filetus, to withdraw and, bending them to his own

* Schulbring P. *Altichiero und seine Schule*. Leipzig, 1898.

† About £400.

The Story of Padua

will, made them bring to him Hermogenes himself. After this proof of the Saint's power, even the magician saw the folly of fighting against the true God, and was converted to Christianity and baptised. But both the Saint and his new convert were condemned to death by the heathen. Nevertheless the Lord's protection of St. James was soon apparent. When his most faithful disciples brought the beheaded Saint's body to Spain, the mourning ship came to port near a castle owned by a proud noblewoman, Lupa, fiercely hostile to the Christian faith. She watched the ship enter the harbour and ordered the disciples to be imprisoned. But an angel was sent by the Lord and set the two disciples free. Lupa despatched two knights to overtake them in their flight, and these in hot pursuit were gradually overtaking the two fugitives when, on crossing a bridge, both the knights were precipitated into the river, and engulfed in the foaming abyss. The disciples, after giving thanks to the Lord for their miraculous escape, obeyed Lupa's command and returned to the castle, where the lady presented them with two wild bulls to transport St. James' body, and, amid general astonishment, the untamed animals submitted themselves patiently to the yoke and drew the coffin to the castle. Lupa, marvelling and repenting, renounced her ancient creed and was baptised, together with all her dependants, and bestowed her castle and lands on a church in honour of St. James. Another miracle is told of St. James, and is recorded in these paintings. The Christian king Ramiro, besieged in 843 in his town of Clavigos, saw the Saint in a dream, who foretold him of his coming victory; and, indeed, by the Saint's intervention, Ramiro overcame his enemies on the morrow. All these more or less historic events have been patiently depicted on the walls of the chapel.

The Church of St. Anthony

Eastern wall, lunette: an open temple, in the L. aisle Hermogenes instructing Filetus; in the nave, philosophers are listening to the debate; in the R. aisle St. James driving away the demons; this portion of the story was probably painted by an unknown pupil of Altichiero, strongly influenced by Giotto; he also painted the next lunette, on the southern wall, St. James ordering the demons to bring Hermogenes to him; the magician is baptised (the light is very bad and the picture difficult to see). Third lunette, divided into two scenes: (a) St. James and Hermogenes on the way to martyrdom; (b) the beheading of St. James. Fourth lunette: Lupa watching from the castle the landing of St. James' disciples. On the next wall, next to the window, Altichiero himself, but hardly in his best manner, painted the fifth lunette; (a) Lupa watching the arrest of the disciples; (b) their arrest. Altichiero continued the story on the next northern wall. Sixth lunette: (a) the angel setting the disciples free; (b) the fall of the pursuing knights into the abyss; (c) the disciples rejoicing in their safety. Seventh lunette: the submission of the bulls. Eighth lunette, in very bad light: (a) Lupa's baptism; (b) a priest reading the charter of donation of the castle to the new church of St. James. On the eastern wall, under the lunette and over the choir stalls, Avanzo, Altichiero's able pupil, has wrought a very impressive scene; (a) King Ramiro's dream; (b) Ramiro from the throne announcing his dream; (c) Ramiro praying during the battle; St. James appearing to him from the clouds. Other paintings by Altichiero can be seen over the tombs of the donors, representing a Resurrection and a Pietà; under these tombs a window has been painted to convey an illusion of space. The two paintings next to the window, showing (a) the Virgin adored by the donors,

Bonifacio Lupi and his wife Catherine Franceschi, and their patron saints, St. James and St. Catherine ;

(b) St. Christopher, quite spoiled by damp, are also Altichiero's work. The tomb on the R., within the chapel, is that of Bonifacio Lupi (died 1389), the one on the L., that of four knights belonging to the De-Rossi family of Parma ; one of them, Piero, led the Carrarese troops which, on 3rd August 1337, entering from Pontecorbo, overcame the Veronese garrison in Padua (*see* p. 115). Both these tombs were wrought by Andriolo de' Santi and finished in 1376. The traveller will notice the difference between the Venetian work, which has no recumbent figure, and the Paduan tombs of the fourteenth cen-

tury, of which so many fine samples may be seen in the cloisters adjacent to St. Anthony's church. Andriolo, the ingenious architect and sculptor, used



S. ANTONIO, DETAIL FROM S. FELICE
CHAPEL

The Church of St. Anthony

to sign himself modestly, "Andriolo tajapietra de Venexia." At the back of the altar and concealed by it, stands the tomb of Bartolomea degli Scrovegni, wife of Marsilio da Carrara, who died 1333, which bears much resemblance to the sepulchral monument of the Negri family in the "Cappella della Madonna Mora." Proceeding behind the choir we pass the door leading to the sacristy. Above the old door of the sacristy is a fresco, by Filippo da Verona. Two empty chapels follow; here stand now the two old confessionals, the backs of which are formed by marvellous intarsios, wrought by the Canozii da Lendinara, belonging to Squarcione's school. These are the only remains of the celebrated marquetry work, executed 1462, for the stalls of the choir, destroyed by the fire in 1749. Next come the chapel of SS. Boniface and Henry the Emperor, decorated in 1906 by Feuerstein at the expense of Germany, and the chapel of St. Stephen which now (1908) is being painted by Saiz for a private family. We reach at last the famous "Cappella del Tesoro," designed and wrought in an extravagant baroque style, which jars upon the traveller's artistic feeling after the fine primitive and Renaissance monuments, but yet not wholly devoid of power and not altogether unsuitable to its purpose. The chapel was not comprised in the original plan of the church. Filippo Parodi, a Genoese architect, initiated the work in 1689 by designing the round chapel at the back of the apse. The construction proceeded with the co-operation of Venetian sculptors and decorators till 1692. It is a triumph of the rococo style. Double columns supporting stucco-decorations, tortured and twisted by the wild and unrestrained imagination of seventeenth-century artists, and statues of saints in rapture form a perfect example of the baroque period, which, if scarcely

The Story of Padua

pleasing, is of some interest. All the marble statues and some of the stucchi were wrought by Parodi, the other stucchi are by Pietro Roncaiolo of Lugano, and the other stone decorations by the two brothers, Giovanni and Grazioso Grassi, Venetian masons. The semicircular chapel* is divided into three niches. Within these niches are preserved some relics of St. Anthony, the tongue, the chin, etc., and the remains of other Saints', together with a piece of the Holy Cross. The traveller who can spare a little time will be rewarded if he examine some of the fine fifteenth- and sixteenth-century goldsmiths' work to be seen here, such as the reliquary, containing the Saint's tongue, wrought in the Byzantine-Renaissance style, in the form of a church of many domes, and attributed to Pietro da Padova and Bartolomeo da Bologna. The reliquary containing a piece of the Cross is a fine piece of craftsmanship in the Byzantine style by Alessandro da Parma (fifteenth century). Some thorns from the Crown of Thorns are preserved in a fine fifteenth-century shrine, presented by Cardinal Girolamo Basso della Rovere; a stone from Gethsemane, inclosed in a beautiful reliquary, with Giottesque angels (fourteenth century). The censer is a wonderful combination of the Gothic and Byzantine styles, wrought perhaps by Bartolomeo da Bologna towards the middle of the fourteenth century; the relics of the Apostles lie in a beautiful shrine by Alessandro da Parma (about 1410). Among these relics is also preserved the baton of Gattamelata; this fine work (two feet and six inches long), by a Venetian craftsman, was offered by the Signory to the condottiere in 1438 as a reward of his faithful service, and was vowed by him, during a battle, to the Santo. There are here altogether over a hundred reliquaries.

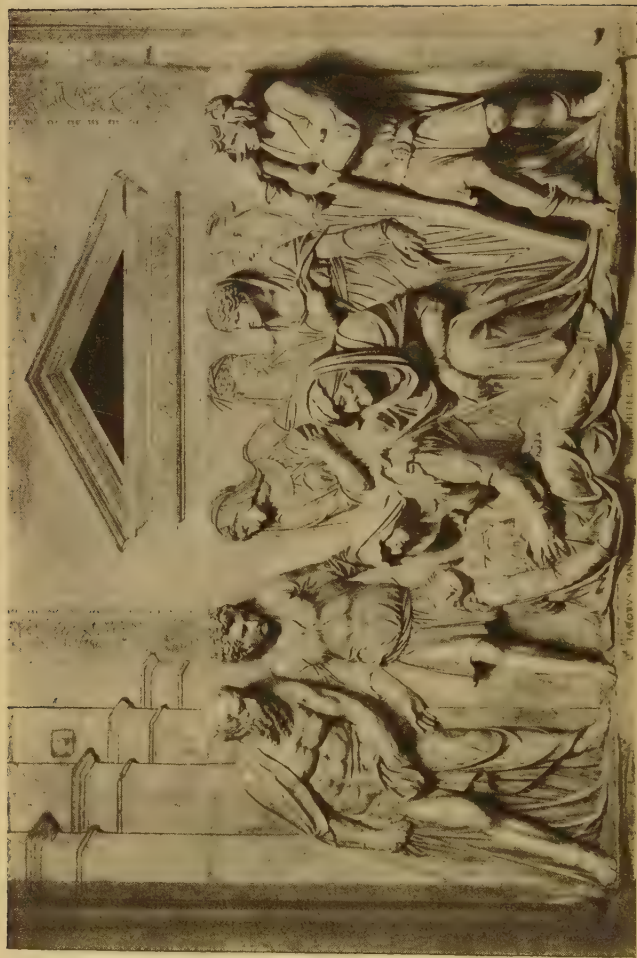
* Fee to view, 3 fr. 50 for one or more persons.

The Church of St. Anthony

The twelfth chapel, which is next reached, was recently decorated by the Poles; it contains two fine tombs of the fourteenth century, belonging to Aicardino and Alvarotto degli Alvarotti; the Christian symbols on them are of course older. Next to the thirteenth altar (Austrian chapel) is the tomb of Cassandra Muscato, probably wrought by Riccio. The Dutch and Giovanelli chapels follow, and on the R. pillar, next to the strange-looking monument erected (1690) to Pietro and Domenico Marchetti, is an "Ecce Homo" by Pietro Calzetta, pupil of Pietro de' Mazi da Milano, who had a famous *bottega* in Padua (fifteenth century).

Proceeding on our way we enter the so-called "Cappella della Madonna Mora," the only part of the church of Santa Maria Mater Domini which is left. The latter was founded in 1100 and occupied formerly a portion of the site of St. Anthony, and was pulled down to make room for the new temple. In 1852 the chapel was carefully restored, nevertheless the fresco-paintings are too faded and damaged to be worthy of consideration. The altar, in the shape of a tabernacle, belongs to the fourteenth century; the statue of St. Mary was wrought in 1396; the painting at the back of it belongs to the contemporary Paduan school. In the middle of the temple lies the tomb of Lucrezia Orologio degli Obizzi, a modern martyr to chastity, murdered by a certain Pavanello in 1654. The general indignation procured her the honour of a public funeral. Under the window is the monument of the Negri family; opposite to it the imposing tomb of the proud professor Raffaele Fulgosio (1427) with a double front. It will impress the traveller by its great resemblance to Donatello's tomb of Pope John XXIII.; it was wrought during the Renaissance by an architect evidently under the influence of that

famous masterpiece. This monument is now supposed to have been wrought about 1429 by a Paduan artist who might have seen a sketch of the Florentine model by Squarcione. Through this chapel we reach the "Cappella del beato Luca Belludi," the faithful follower of St. Anthony; the pious foe of powerful Ezzelino, who hated him with a furious hatred; abbot of the poor monastery of Santa Maria Mater Domini and one of the most fervid promoters of the building of the Santo. When his body was transferred hither, this chapel, formerly devoted to Saints Philip and James, was dedicated to him. Unluckily the frescoes were thoroughly repainted by Domenico Sandri in 1786. As they are now we cannot even judge if the Anonimo is, as seems probable, correct in ascribing them to Giovanni and Antonio da Padova, or if Campagnola is right in attributing them to Giusto de' Menabuoi. On the L. of the lower compartment is the martyrdom of St. Philip, which contains some portraits of the donor's family; in the lunette St. Philip overcomes the demon and suffocates three bystanders, who worshipped Mars; he recalls them to life and baptises them. In the lunette above the window, St. Philip preaching in Asia. On the L. of the altar St. Anthony foretells to Luca Belludi the liberation of Padua from Ezzelino's despotism. In the background is an interesting view of Padua at the end of the fourteenth century. At the back of the altar are some of the Negri family presented to the Virgin by their patron saints. On the R. of the altar Luca Belludi prays for his worshippers; lunette: Christ appearing to St. James, who in the lower portion is demolishing a tower to free a man, who had faith in him; and the Saint giving bread to a pilgrim who had directed him on his way. On the ceiling of the chapel and under some archivolts are a few interesting



S. ANTONIO—THE RESURRECTION TO LIFE OF A MAIDEN (BY SANSOVINO)

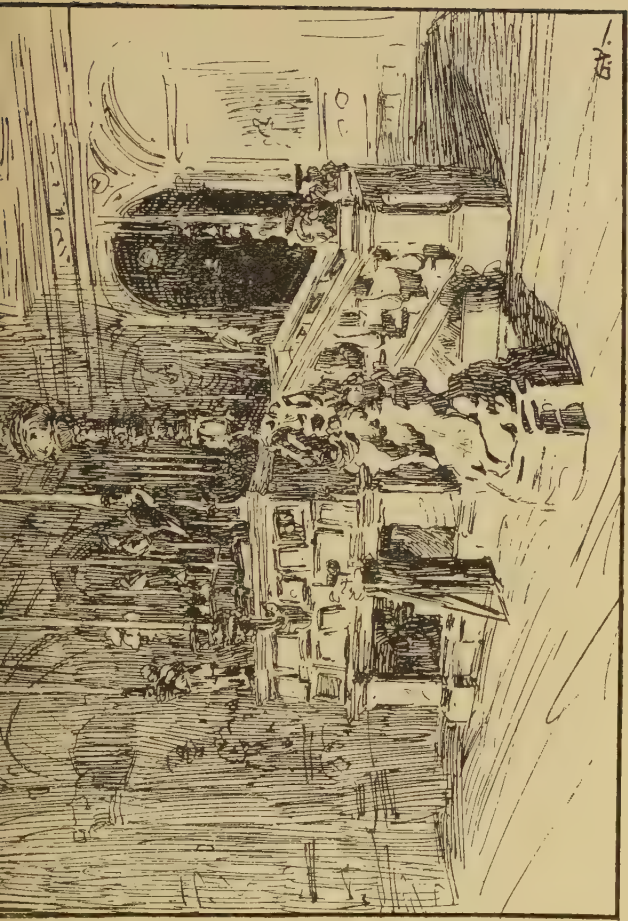
The Church of St. Anthony

half figures, luckily less retouched by Sandri, which appear closely imitated from Giotto.

We reach now the jewel of the church, as it has been more or less properly called, the chapel containing the shrine of the Saint himself. Occupying the transept opposite to the Cappella S. Felice, its main lines were already determined by it, and it is highly interesting to watch how differently the ingenious Andriolo and his Renaissance fellow-artist executed the work. The upper portion of the façade is supported by an arcade with four marble columns and two pillars, as in the Cappella S. Felice, but the decoration is wholly different. The later architects were as correct and elaborate as the older artist was simple and spontaneous. The archivolts, spandrels, plinths and capitals are cleverly proportioned and elaborately sculptured. The superior portion of the façade is divided into rectangular compartments of polychromatic marbles. The five statues no longer stand free from the wall, but rest comfortably in beautifully-finished niches. Simplicity and inspiration gave place to cleverness and classic models.

The first architect was Andrea Riccio, who submitted his plans in 1500; soon the work was taken up by Giovanni Minello, who contributed his part until 1531, but left the last touches to be given by Giovanni Maria Falconetto. The enormous progress in technical skill appears furthermore in the chapel itself, whose dome gives an extraordinary impression of space; no painting charms the eye, merely a severe monochrome decoration, unimpeachable, if rather cold. The altar with the Saint's shrine stands alone, raised on a few marble steps, an expressionless work by Tiziano Aspetti in 1593; the statues of St. Anthony, St. Bonaventura, St. Louis of Toulouse on the altar, the four angels and the grille at the bottom of the steps,

are all by the same artist, a nephew of the great Titian. The two poor marble groups, bearing the silver candlesticks, are by O. Marinali and Parodi; the stucco-decoration of the ceiling, elegant and elaborate, was wrought by Giovanni and Antonio Minelli dei Bardi, of Padua. Unfortunately the superstition of devotees crowds the altar with ugly square frames with silver hearts, embroidered inscriptions, and even crutches and artificial arms and legs, testimonies to the miracles attributed to the Saint. The walls were originally decorated with frescoes by Stefano da Ferrara, which were replaced, between 1500 and 1577, by marble reliefs, entrusted to various artists, mostly of the Venetian school, of varying merit, but all overshadowed by the power of Donatello's work. Yet the unity, resulting from this decoration wrought by so many artists, is marvellous; the reliefs represent miracles of the Saint. 1. By Antonio Lombardo, the Venetian master, in 1505: the Saint makes an infant speak and bears witness to his mother's impugned chastity; a cold and too classically draped scene. 2. A rather indifferent work, begun by Giovanni Maria, called Mosca da Padova, in 1520, and completed in 1529, by Paolo Stella, of Milan: Aleardino, a heretic, renounces his old creed on seeing a glass, thrown from a height, fall without breaking and smash a stone on which it falls. 3. Wrought by Tullio Lombardo between 1501 and 1525, is by common agreement the best of the whole series; it is a fresh and vigorous composition, in which classic composure did not entirely extinguish the fire of inspiration. A youth who, in a moment of anger, had kicked his mother, cut off his leg in remorse, and Anthony, through the mother's intercession, caused the leg to grow again. The central group is admirable. 4. The same artist failed to attain an equal



S. ANTONIO—THE ALTAR OF ST. ANTHONY

The Church of St. Anthony

mastery in the next panel, where Anthony is represented in the act of opening the breast of a dead miser, without finding the heart, which lay in his safe.

5. Anthony, at his sister's entreaties, restores her drowned son to life; a relief committed to Minello in 1520, but finished by Jacopo Sansovino in 1534.

6. The next panel also was wrought by Sansovino between 1536 and 1563, and emphasises the artist's growing tendency towards pictorial sculpture.

Anthony restores to life a girl, who had committed suicide. 7. Another restoration to life of a youth,

who could by his testimony clear his father from charges of murder; wrought by Danese Cattaneo and his pupil, Girolamo Campagna (1572-1577), in the later Venetian style. 8. The next panel, wrought

by Giovanni da Padova, called Dentone, in 1524, contrasts badly with it, as it retains some of the Paduan mediæval coarseness. The Saint heals a woman,

wounded by her husband in a fit of unjust jealousy. 9. Lastly, the entering of the Saint into the Fran-

ciscan community, by Antonio Minello, 1512; whom Volkmann, with some reason, accuses of plagiarism from the first panel.

Descending now along the L. aisle, a few more monuments are worth notice. The tomb of Caterino Cornaro (1674), executed by the Flemish artist Juste de la Court, in the debased style of the seventeenth century; next to it is the charming monument to Antonio Roselli (1466), wrought by Bartolomeo Bellano, who, according to Volkmann, plagiarised from Desiderio da Settignano's tomb of the Marsuppinis in Santa Croce of Florence; the slight alteration made by the Paduan artist, naturally enough, does not improve its general appearance; however, taken by itself, it forms a much-needed contrast to the ugly monument of Caterino Cornaro. The holy-water

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font in the aisle was wrought (1573) by Giovanni Minello and Francesco "de Quola"; the statue on it is by the Venetian Pirgotele (Giovanni Zorzi). On the pillar opposite to the uninteresting sixteenth altar is a composition by an unknown master of the Mantegna school (1494), which has been too grievously retouched. Of these two altars only the latter is of interest, as, according to the Anonimo, Stefano da Ferrara was the author of the fresco, the angels being, somewhat doubtfully, attributed to Fra Filippo Lippi. Any personal judgment is rendered invalid by the ruinous repainting. In the nave, next to the first pillar, on the L., is the tomb of Giovanni Gorelli, by Alessandro Vittoria (1573); of the two holy-water stoups, the one on the R. has a statue of the Baptist, by Tullio Lombardo, although not quite equal to his best work; the one on the L., a Saviour, is by Tiziano Aspetti. Michele Sanmicheli wrought (1549) the beautiful simple tomb of the famous Cardinal Bembo, the bust being by Danese Cattaneo. Goethe admired it in 1786, describing it as "a beautiful and powerfully marked face . . . with a vigorous beard." Far less admirable is the other work by Sanmicheli in the church, the monument of Alessandro Contarini, the statues being by Alessandro Vittoria and Danese Cattaneo. On the fourth R. pillar is a fairly good painting of the Paduan school, representing the Virgin enthroned. The Byzantine pulpit is of recent build (1895); the fresco at the back of it is ascribed to Stefano da Ferrara. On the R. pillar of the presbytery Jacopo Montagnana and Gerolamo dal Santo painted (1518) Christ and the Apostles; on the L. pillar is a Resurrection wrought by Stefano dall' Arzere.

On the high altar * were placed in 1895, under the

* The sacristan will, for a small fee, open the door admitting to it.



S. ANTONIO—THE MIRACLE OF THE MISER (BY DONATELLO)

[Anderson, Rome

The Church of St. Anthony

supervision of Professor Boito, the bronzes moulded by Donatello.* Professor Boito endeavoured to rearrange and rebuild the altar as it had been described by the Anonimo. That this difficult reconstruction is not beyond criticism has been shown by Mandach.† Unfortunately little more has reached us than the Anonimo's description of Donatello's architectonic scheme. And the beautiful framings for the reliefs on the sides of the old choir, which are all that remains of the original, by their simple elegance do but intensify the bitterness of the loss.

Donatello was called to Padua in 1443; he finished his first work, the Crucifix, in 1444, which pleased the Paduans so much, that the general decoration of the altar was entrusted to him.‡ Between 1444 and 1450 the Florentine master and his pupils completed the reliefs. It is difficult to decide which of the different works are entirely by Donatello, and which were partly or totally wrought by his pupils. Doubtlessly all were cast under his supervision and according to his designs. It is generally admitted that Giovanni da Pisa, Urbano da Cortona, Antonio di Chellino da Pisa, Francesco del Valente and Squarcione's pupil, Nicolò Pizolo, all contributed to the great undertaking.

On the centre of the altar stands the Crucifix, wrought in a tenderer mood than was usual with Donatello; he was perhaps aided by Giovanni da Pisa. Beneath is the charming and classic Virgin; on

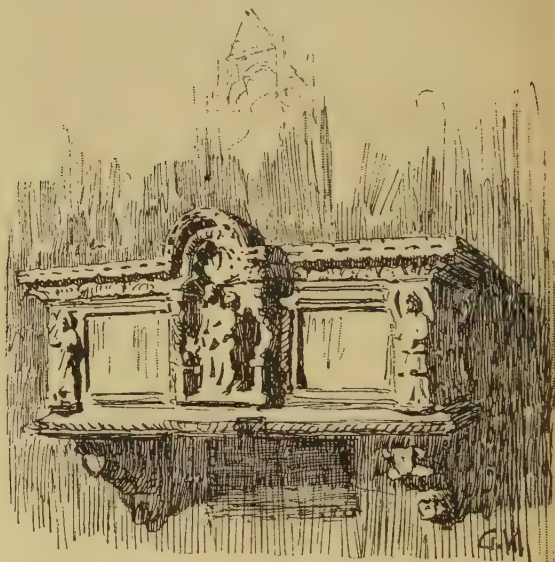
* Girolamo Campagna, who substituted in 1579 a classic altar, was responsible for the first disarrangement of Donatello's work. In 1652 Campagna's altar was removed, in order to make room for a baroque construction.

† Conrad de Mandach, *St. Antoine de Padoue et l'art italien*. Paris, Laurens, 1899, p. 196 and following.

‡ Francesco da Tergola generously financed the undertaking from 1446 onward.

The Story of Padua

the R. a stern St. Francis and a young and sweet St. Giustina; on the L. a characteristic St. Anthony holding a book (the lily is an unwarranted and absurd addition subsequent to 1450), and St. Daniel. On



S. ANTONIO—TOMB OF THE FAMILY BELPARO (CLOISTER)

the side wings of the altar stand S. Prosdocimo and St. Louis most richly draped in their episcopal attire. On the table of the altar is a comparatively weak Pietà. On each side are reliefs representing “the healing of the leg,” and “the finding of the Miser’s heart.” These two marvellous bronze reliefs, together with the three relegated to the back of the

The Church of St. Anthony

altar, are the gems of the whole decoration. Donatello succeeded, as did hardly any other artist, in infusing a great dramatic power into the representation of miracles, without sacrificing the classic composure indispensable to sound sculpture, and without debasing his work by an excessive pictorial treatment. In looking at similar works, we must bear in mind the stringent limitations demanded by the subject: the exaltation of a saint endowed with miraculous power. Of course the scene centres around the Saint himself, and the other numerous figures are merely introduced in order to express by their demeanour, the various impressions caused by the miraculous event. And it is just these figures that bring the poignancy of real life into the scene. Anybody with a sense of art and beauty cannot fail to be impressed by Donatello's unparalleled achievement. At the wings of the altar are the symbols of the Evangelists, Matthew and John. Beneath the three larger panels are twelve angels, and another small *Pieta*, the greater part of which is ascribed to the pupils of Donatello. At the back of the altar, to right and left of the base, are the symbols of St. Mark and St. Luke, and in the centre a wonderful stone relief, representing the Entombment of Christ. This is perhaps the best proof of Donatello's perfect craftsmanship, in its low relief and harmonious lines, and of his psychological insight in the restrained grief of the men and in the outburst of anguish in the women. On the R. above is the miracle of the Vision of the Holy Child, on the L. the Kneeling Mule. (When preaching in the neighbourhood of Toulouse Anthony converted a heretic by making his hungry mule kneel before the Host, rather than feed of the hay put before her.)

Above the choir stalls in the presbytery are more bronze reliefs with scenes from the Old Testament.

The Story of Padua

Ten out of twelve were wrought by Bartolomeo Bellano, Donatello's Paduan pupil (1484-85), and compare poorly both with the master's work and with the two remaining reliefs (Nos. 9 and 11), which fall to Andrea Briosco, called Riccio (1507). Bellano's reliefs are overcharged with small figures. On the R. looking at the altar : Cain and Abel ; (2) Jacob's sacrifice ; (3) Joseph and his brethren ; (4) the passage of the Red Sea ; (5) the golden calf ; (6) the lifting up of the brazen serpent. On the L. from the altar towards the church : (7) Samson bringing down the temple ; (8) David and Goliath ; (9) David's dance ; (10) The judgment of Solomon ; (11) Judith ; (12) Jonah.

Riccio was the author of the much-admired bronze candlestick on the L. of the altar, eleven feet high, which took the artist over ten years to complete, on account of the numerous little figures carved on it. Near the arch of the tribune, facing the altar, is now a fourteenth-century portrait of the Saint between two kneeling donors. This tempera painting on wood has been removed hither from the *Capitolo Vecchio*, and cannot be ascribed to Giotto, as has been frequently done.

Entering now the sacristy and passing by the frescoes in the ambulatory (St. Anthony preaching to the fishes, a sixteenth-century picture badly restored, and Filippo da Verona's (1509), the Madonna with SS. Francis and Catherine), we reach the sacristy. On the R. is the large chest which used to contain the relics, previous to the building of the *Cappella del Tesoro*. The wood is beautifully decorated with intarsias wrought by Lorenzo Canozii from cartoons by Squarcione, in 1462. The chest is framed by a rich marble decoration carved in Donatello's style by Bellano ; the upper part being a strict imitation in

The Church of St. Anthony

marble of Donatello's miracle of the mule. The work was executed at the expense of Giacoma Leonessa in 1476.

From the sacristy we reach the "Capitolo Vecchio." Giotto's Crucifixion, which is said to have been here, was probably destroyed, and occupied the eastern wall; the figures painted on the short walls (above the altar: SS. Daniel, Jeremiah, Anthony, and a skeleton; on the northern wall SS. Clare, Francis the Baptist and David) may well be traced back to Giotto or to some of his best pupils. The master painted a similar fresco of the skeleton in the lower church at Assisi.

From the church we may enter the cloister "del Capitolo," passing the tomb of two Da Vigonzas (1380), with a fresco ascribed to Avanzo under the arch. Many more tombs of this style and many more inscriptions are round this cloister, which is the first on entering from the square on the L. of the church, and in the next cloister, Chiostro Generale, erected together with the smaller Chiostro della Biblioteca in 1434. In the passage between the first and second cloisters some frescoes were discovered, but quite ruined. The oldest cloister, Chiostro del Paradiso, dates from 1229, when the first monks came hither, and was later used as a churchyard. It is only partly preserved, but the charming remains may be easily seen through the railing in Via Cesarotti. On the same northern side of the church are the tomb of Antonio Orsato in red marble of the fourteenth century, and a beautiful window pierced in the wall of the chapel of St. Anthony.

CHAPTER XI

S. Giorgio—Scuola del Santo—Museo Civico—Pra' della Valle—S. Giustina—S. Bovo—S. Maria in Vanzo—S. Maria dei Servi

ISSUING from the cloisters of S. Antonio we find on the L. in a small courtyard, enclosed by an iron railing, the tomb of Rolando da Piazzola (*see* p. 92); it is built of fragments of Roman sepulchres, and stands under a Gothic canopy with slender columns (1310). We reach next on the same side St. George's Oratory (Oratorio di S. Giorgio), a building that may for many reasons be compared with the Arena Chapel. The plain brick façade is only relieved from monotony by two roughly carved escutcheons at the sides of the portal and by the image of St. George killing the dragon above it. This little church was intended by the founder, the Marquis Raimondino de' Lupi di Soragna, to be the burial-place of his family. Raimondino was an old condottiere, whose services had been often retained by the Marquis of Mantua. In his last days he settled down in Padua, and, out of a curious yet not infrequent combination of feudal pride and religious zeal, decided to erect this chapel in honour of his patron, Saint George, and of the family Soragna, which he believed himself to have greatly contributed in exalting. We have seen that his brother, Bonifacio, shared the same feelings, and was the founder of a chapel in

S. Giorgio

*S. Antonio.** In truth, Bonifacio must be taken into consideration when speaking of this church, as Raimondino, who had begun the building in 1377, was already dead in 1379, and had not provided for its decoration. An adverse fate seems to have impended over the chapel from the beginning. For some reason or other only Raimondino's father was buried in the magnificent tomb. Raimondino himself was interred next to the L. wall, and all the other Soragnas have sheltered themselves in the chapel of St. Felix. The tomb stood right in the middle of *S. Giorgio*, and was very conspicuous; hence scores of pilgrims mistook it every day for the shrine of the Saint. The oratory was consequently kept closed, and was in 1582 handed over to the guild (*confraternita*) of the goldsmiths, who removed the monument from the centre of the church in order to render the altar visible. The walls were then, or later, whitewashed, thus concealing the precious frescoes, which were entirely forgotten until E. Foerster discovered them in 1837. But the paintings and statues and even the bones of Rolando da Soragna, Raimondino's father, were doomed to suffer by the hands of the ruthless French troops, who camped in the oratory in 1797. They pierced the walls with nails, thus damaging the frescoes, barbarously knocked the statues to pieces, and did not shrink, in their frantic search for gold, from removing the bones of old Soragna. As a consequence of this rough handling, the decoration of the church is now merely pictorial, yet originally the rich tomb, raised on small columns, sheltered by a tabernacle and encircled by ten statues, all polychromatic, must have greatly added to the beauty of the oratory. Of the

* Admittance is obtained by applying either to the porter of the *Arca del Santo* (in the passage leading to the cloisters on the R.) or to the sacristan of *S. Antonio*. A small fee is expected.

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statues only one is now preserved, and it bears the square morion worn by mediæval knights; the remains of the tomb have been removed to the L., in order to give a complete view of the paintings, which are wonderfully advanced in technique for this early period. The tomb, even in its present state, shows traces of the style of Andriolo Veneziano, who, with Altichiero and Avanzo, was summoned to decorate this church in 1384. One of the paintings by Avanzo is signed, thus providing the critic with a precious clue to the attribution of the remainder. Above the altar is a remarkable Crucifixion by Avanzo; in the lunette the Crowning of the Virgin. On the blue ceiling of the vault, spangled with stars, are conspicuous the medallions, much damaged, wrought by Altichiero: God the Father, Jesus Christ, the Madonna, the Evangelists and Prophets; beneath there are many half figures of saints, badly preserved.* On the eastern wall (L.) in the upper portion Altichiero painted the dedication fresco representing the founder kneeling before the Virgin enthroned; next to the founder are his parents, brothers and nephews, all led and introduced by their holy patrons. The men are armour-clad, with escutcheons on their shields; in the background is the ancestral castle. The most interesting feature of this rather weak design is the portraiture of the knights. By Altichiero also are the conversion of King Silenus (or Zevius) and St. George fighting the dragon. The legend of St. George is well known. George, a

* We have mentioned already that Avanzo and Altichiero imitated freely Giotto's decoration of the Arena Chapel. It would be tedious to record all instances in which this imitation is most apparent. It is only necessary to remark that the decoration of the ceiling is almost identical and that, apart from many particulars, the general distribution is the same.



S. GIORGIO—THE BURIAL OF ST. LUCY (BY AVANZO)

To face p. 214]

[Anderson, Rome

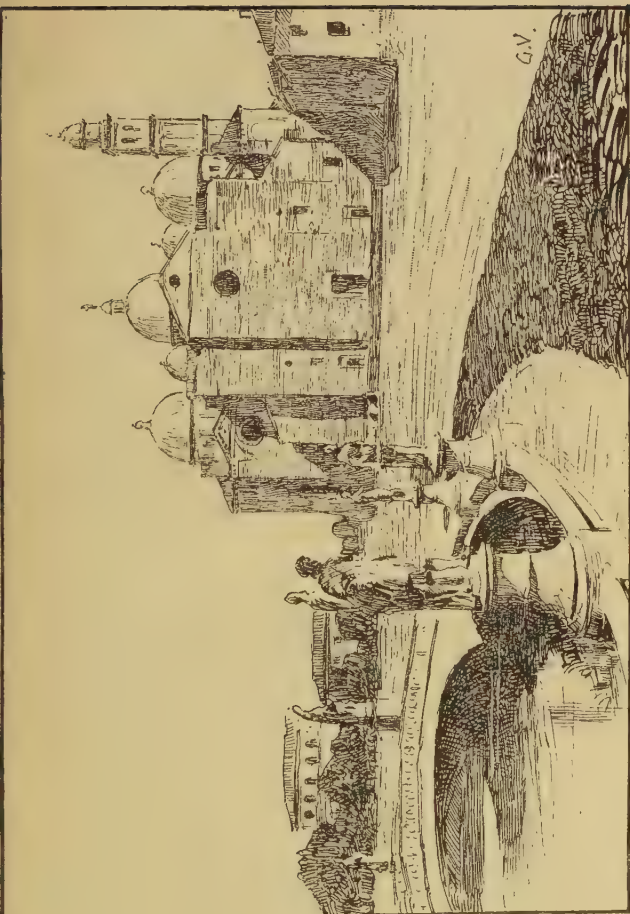
S. Giorgio

Cappadocian knight, having freed a Lybian town from the cruel toll exacted by a dragon, King Silenus and the whole population were converted to Christianity. George was afterwards persecuted as a Christian, but God's favour rendered him exempt from pain through all the tortures he had to suffer. A sorcerer undertook to kill him by poison, but he was unharmed by it, and the sorcerer was converted: the wheel on which he was tortured was broken to pieces by an angel. Then the Roman Prætor, Datianus, endeavoured to persuade him to worship idols. St. George willingly allowed himself to be led into a temple, and entreated from the Lord its destruction. At once lightning struck the temple and the ruins were immediately engulfed. Finally the Saint was beheaded. Altichiero has executed the two first scenes of the legend in the lower part; the more attractive brush of Avanzo painted St. George drinking the poison, the torture of the wheel, the wrecking of the idol and the beheading of the Saint. The two last compartments are much damaged.

In the lunette above the portal is the Annunciation, the angel being separated from Mary by a small window. Beneath it are four more compartments, the two higher ones representing "the Adoration of the Shepherds" on the L., in which the magnificent disposition of the masses of colour would render this painting Avanzo's masterpiece, but for his inability to focus the attention on the central figures and on the main issue of the design; on the R. is "the Adoration of the Magi." In the "Presentation in the Temple," just beneath the last picture, Avanzo seems to imitate more strictly his master, Altichiero, indulging in the reproduction of architectural peculiarities. In his "Flight into Egypt" on the L., though greatly damaged, the sweet expression of the Madonna and

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Child is remarkable. The pictures on the western wall have suffered the most from damp, but they are certainly the finest of the series. In the four compartments of the upper portion are displayed scenes from the life of St. Catherine, by Altichiero, with the help of some incompetent pupil, who badly completed the hurried work of the master ; some details, such as hands, feet, and draperies, being exceedingly faulty. Catherine, a royal princess, in order to check the persecution of the Christians, applied directly to Emperor Maximinus, debating with him so cleverly on these matters, that he summoned fifty of the most famous scholars of the time to convince the maiden of her errors, but they were all converted by the Holy Spirit, speaking through Catherine's mouth ; whereupon the princess was condemned to death. In vain she was tortured with fire, boiling oil and the like ; four huge wheels were then contrived between which the maiden was to be torn to pieces ; but an angel broke them ; they fell, crushing four thousand people. Catherine was finally beheaded ; milk was found in her veins instead of blood, and the angels transported her body to the summit of Mount Sinai, and there it was buried. (1) St. Catherine and the Emperor. (2) The debate with the philosophers. (3) The angel (visible in the background) wrecks the wheels. (4) The death of the Saint. In the last design three scenes are summarised ; on the R. we see the burial of the body by angels on the mountain. In the lower portion we meet again with Avanzo's finer work. His paintings retain some of Giotto's lofty sentiment, yet he knows how to solve technical difficulties and how to infuse into all the figures the breath of life. Most of his heads seem to have been portraits. For the first time in the history of mediæval painting we meet with an attempt at realism.



S. GIUSTINA AND PRA' DELLA VALLE

S. Giorgio

The scenes are from the legend of St. Lucy. She was a Sicilian maiden, and was tried before the Roman Prætor, Pascasius, on the charge of having jilted her betrothed for other lovers, whereas she had devoted herself to Christ. The Prætor upheld the charge, and condemned her to lead a disreputable life, but neither bawds or a thousand men or a thousand yokes of oxen had power to wrench her from the court. The wrathful Pascasius, believing the miracle to be the outcome of witchcraft, endeavoured to contend against it, but flames could not burn the maiden nor could boiling oil hurt her. She was finally blinded, and some merciful onlooker stabbed her. But she did not die at once, and foretold the imminent arrest of Pascasius on a charge of dishonesty, which happened at once, while the Christians gathered round her and buried her with great honour. (1) St. Lucy before Pascasius. (2) The oxen pulling in vain. (3) The martyrdom of the Saint, divided into three scenes: fire, oil, and stabbing. (4) The burial of the Saint. There are wonderful details in some of these compartments, thus the powerful foreshortening of the labourer driving the oxen, the Mephistophelian man in red blowing into the fire with the bellows, and above all the magnificent last fresco. Avanzo, well aware of the perfection he had attained in this last work, added his signature to the composition, and painted perhaps his own portrait in the black-robed youth. We have here a real masterpiece. The face of the recumbent saint is quite angelic, nor is the grief of the mourning people, who follow the bier, in one of those skilful and gorgeous processions which were the pride of the Bellinis and of Ghirlandaio, less impressive. Above all, the originality of these paintings lies in the masterful distribution of the masses of colour, already proclaiming the advent of the Venetian school.

The Story of Padua

A few steps further along the northern side of the square, we reach the Scuola del Santo.* This guild or confraternity was founded soon after St. Anthony's death, certainly before 1334. It met originally in the Cappella della Madonna Mora. The present building was erected between the years 1499 and 1505, according to the usual two-storied model of these scuole. The square room on the second floor has a remarkable sixteenth-century wooden ceiling, with gilt reliefs. Light is obtained by square windows pierced in both long walls. Quite near the door on the R., beneath the first panel, we see a small fresco, gone over in oil, wherein an old man stretches out his hands towards a basket of bread held by a youth, an evident allusion to the ancient custom of this guild, recognised in the Statute Book of 1334, of distributing bread to those among the members who took part in divine service. Critics generally agree in ascribing this small fresco to Titian. The walls are divided into seventeen compartments disposed in a single row, which reaches the ceiling. They are numbered, and the numbers begin from the first panel on the R. of the entrance door.

(1) The testimony of an infant to his mother's chastity, by Titian. It is highly instructive to watch how differently this and the other miraculous deeds of the Saint are treated by different masters in different ages. Such wide discrepancies cannot be solely ascribed to the particular characteristics of the masters. Each of them, especially such artists as Donatello and Titian, may be considered as the exponents of their epoch. They help us, therefore, to fathom the changes brought into being by the progress of time. Donatello insisted,

* When closed, admission is gained by calling the porter of the Arca del Santo; a small fee is sufficient. A clear day is essential.

Scuola del Santo

with his powerful gift for dramatic expression, on the working of the miracle itself, and forced all the elements in the reliefs to contribute to this purpose. Titian, a real son of the joyful, luscious and life-loving Venetian later Renaissance, saw in the miracle only the occasion for a beautiful picture. To the evident charm of it he made all the rest subservient. He even passes over with the greatest possible indifference the essential meaning of the miracle. Here, as in the other two compartments wrought by him, Titian diverted the attention of the onlookers from the central figures. One feels at first sight that the master was far less inspired when painting the figure of the saint, or that of the parents of the infant, than by the well-developed woman turning to the old man on the L., or by the muscular youth in striped hose, by the airy and rich background or by simple distribution of his vivid and dark masses of colour. As usual the master excels far more in colouring than in drawing. We admire the beautiful, well-balanced and glowing picture, though we may miss the spiritual influence conveyed by Donatello's works. (2) The miser's heart, by Domenico Campagnola. (3) The kneeling mule, attributed often to Campagnola, but to be ascribed with far more probability to Bartolomeo Montagna. (4) The Saint appears to Luca Belludi and foretells Padua's deliverance from Ezzelino's domination. This painting, by Filippo da Verona, has a peculiar interest, arising from the reproduction of many details. The tents of the Crusaders can be seen on the R.; the warrior with a repulsive mien, dressed in Asiatic attire and grasping his scimitar, is Ansedisio, who replied to the entreaties for peace of a Paduan citizen by stabbing him to death. St. Anthony is seen in the background. (5) The death of St. Anthony was once ascribed to Girolamo dal Santo, but is now assigned more correctly

to Campagnola. (6) The removal of the relics of the Saint, by Bartolomeo Montagna. This attribution appears highly probable to all who will compare this fresco with Montagna's signed masterpiece in the church of S. Maria in Vanzo; apart from the great



S. GIUSTINA, ONE OF THE GRIFFINS

similarity of many details, we meet the same precise and delicate handling. (7) The miracle of the glass, by Girolamo dal Santo. (8) Filippo da Verona, Ezzelino bending before the Saint. (9) G. dal Santo, the Virgin between the SS. Anthony and Francis. This panel, which stands at the back of the altar, has been through the terrible ordeal of a reckless restoration. (10) The Saint dispels a storm that had threatened to

Scuola del Santo and Museo

interfere with his preaching. (11) The healing of the wife unjustly stabbed by the jealous husband. This fresco is much damaged, but still evinces Titian's characteristic and genial distribution of strong colours. (12) Titian, the miracle of the leg. The master wrought these paintings in 1511. The remaining compartments are of far smaller interest, and some exceedingly ugly. (13) The healing of a boy who had fallen into boiling water, by an unknown late follower of Titian. (14) The restoration to life of a son to clear his father from an unjust charge of murder—a school painting. (15) Antonio Buttafogo (1775), the death of the Saint. (16) Unknown, the bringing to life of a drowned maiden. (17) Campagnola, the bringing to life of a drowned child—a comparatively good work.

A little further, on the same northern side of the square, is the Museo Civico.* The present building was designed in 1880 by Professor Boito and the architect Maestri. The collections contained in it, though not comparable with those of famous galleries, are very remarkable. The nucleus of this municipal collection is to be traced in the paintings from the monastery of S. Giovanni di Verdara, which were handed over to the public in 1780. Later private collections were bestowed on the city by the legacies of Policastro (1845), of Piazza (1856), and of Emo-Capodilista (1864). In 1857 were added over two hundred paintings belonging to the suppressed religious corporations, and finally Nicola Bottacin bequeathed his collection of coins and other objects to be added to the Museum. There are also minor legacies and acquisitions, which we pass by.† Entering the hall

* Open on weekdays from 9 to 4 (9 to 7 in summer); admission, 50 centimes. On Sundays, free from 10 to 1.

† I am indebted for most of the information about the Museo to the excellent work of its Director, Professor Andrea Moschetti, *Il Museo Civico di Padova*. Padova, 1903.

we see on the R. an *Æsculapius*, by Canova, 1787, and a monument to Monsignor Giustiniani by the same, which was formerly in the church of the Civic Hospital. In the cloister there is a considerable archæological collection; we may point out amid many Roman remains the tomb of the family *Volumnia*, shaped like a tabernacle, excavated in *Monselice*; some pre-Roman columns and some of those remains discovered under the *Caffè Pedrocchi*, also a number of mediæval escutcheons and tombs. At the eastern end of the cloister lies the *Museo di S. Martino e Solferino*, where the memorials of these two battles, fought in 1859, are preserved. Both *S. Martino* and *Solferino* are between *Padua* and *Brescia*. In this courtyard is also the archæological room; in the middle of it is shown a famous "*patera*," one of the few remains of Roman glass craftsmanship still in existence. It was slightly damaged when discovered, but preserves the most beautiful tones of colour (No. 364). The cases contain many important antiquities. No. 365 is a small statue of *Jupiter* of the first or second century.

Ascending to the first floor by the marble staircase we see in the attendant's room a few terra-cottas: a *Virgin and Child*, by *Giovanni di Chellino da Pisa*; three noble statues of *St. Peter*, *Christ* and the *Baptist*, life-size, formerly in the hall of the *Episcopal Palace*, by *Minello* (1490), and a group of saints mourning over *Christ's* body, by *Guido Mazzoni* of *Modena* (1485-89).

We enter now the picture gallery, and note in the first room a life-like portrait of *Maria Theresa* by an unknown artist (No. 97). Nos. 7-8 are *St. Augustine* and *St. Gregory*, by *Michele Giambono*. No. 33, a *Madonna and Child*, between *SS. Peter and Liberale*, by *Marco Basaiti*, a rather stiff painting but nevertheless one of the best works of this master (fifteenth to

Museo Civico

sixteenth century). On a screen near the window are two paintings on wood (Nos. 50 and 56) ascribed to Giorgione (1477-1510). They were the front panels of wedding cassoni and have unfortunately suffered much damage from time and use and restoration, yet the style of the wondrous rival of Titian is traceable in the light airiness of the scenes and in the characteristic trees and figures. In the second room is another smaller painting attributed to Giorgione, also on a screen (No. 162), in its original frame. No. 166 a good adoration of the shepherds by Bonifacio.

Room III. A battle-scene ascribed to Giorgione (No. 170) on screen, much damaged. On the L. a portrait by Van Dyk in his Genoese period. No. 324 on the R. beyond the window has been ascribed by Moschetti to Bernardo called Lorenzo Parentino, one of the painters who worked on the cloisters of S. Giustina, now destroyed. Room IV. may be passed over. Room V. is merely a hall admitting to two other rooms; we turn to the one on the R.

Room VI. Here is preserved one of the two extant paintings signed by Francesco Squarzon or Squarcione, the master of Mantegna (No. 399). It is generally admitted that he exercised his talents in promoting the imitation of classic models, rather than by displaying any inherent ability. This altar-piece, wrought for the Lazara Chapel in S. Maria del Carmine (1449-52), and divided into five compartments (St. Lucy, the Baptist, SS. Jerome, Anthony the Abbot and Giustina) is painfully stiff and contains no indications of Mantegna's style. It is in its original frame. Lorenzo Veneziano has a Madonna and Child enthroned (No. 383), signed and dated 1361, badly preserved but important in the history of painting. On the side of the arch leading to the VII. Room is No. 404, an archer sitting down and lacing his boots,

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the most interesting of the remains from the frescoes in the Scuola di S. Marcole S. Sebastiano.* This fragment with others near it make us yearn for the sight of the original decoration of the old Scuola. No. 404 has been often ascribed to Mantegna, and the masterly skill in the foreshortening renders this figure quite worthy of him. Yet the frescoes were executed 1481, when Mantegna had been away from Padua many years. Probably the master sent from Mantua the cartoons for this work. From St. Peter's Monastery are twelve small portions of frescoes (No. 386-397) ascribed to Bartolomeo Vivarini and his pupils; the largest fragment is attributed to the master. On the opposite wall, before reaching the window, is a small half figure of a Madonna, by G. B. Tiepolo (No. 587), light in hue and full of realism.

Room VII. We first meet a small painting by Jacopo Bellini (No. 416), which was probably part of his Crucifixion now at Venice. Giovanni Bellini (1424-1516) is represented by a fine Madonna, with a charming oval face, deep sweet eyes and long hands (No. 418). Gentile Bellini (1421-1501), Visit of the Wise Men (No. 425). On the opposite R. wall we see No. 539, a Flemish inn, by A. van Ostade, very realistic, and a dark portrait by Hans Holbein (No. 549), both placed in a bad light.

Room VIII. On the L. wall, by Paolo Calliari, called Veronese (1530-88), a Crucifixion on slate, a most curious and impressive work, hinting at the daring realism of modern painters (No. 447). On the same

* The Scuola existed in Piazza del Duomo and had been decorated by disciples of Mantegna. Luigi Pizzi copied the frescoes in pencil, before the little church was pulled down in 1819, and these copies are preserved in the library of the Museo. We learn from them that the story of SS. Mark and Sebastian was told in twelve large compartments.

side is his magnificent sketch for the "Martyrdom of S. Giustina" in the church of the same name, a sketch that in spite of its having been retouched is quite equal to the finished masterpiece, being full of life and freshness (No. 466). No. 466, opposite the window, is a much-praised Holy Family, by Garofalo. The portrait wreathed with laurel is the work of Torbido and not, as was formerly supposed, of Giorgione. We return to Room V. and hence gain admittance to the large Salon, Room IX. A most beautiful Virgin and Child with donor, by Andrea Previtali, confronts us first from its screen (No. 439, executed in 1502). Both composition and tone are highly refined and impressive. On the smaller wall, L. of the entrance, hangs a great Flemish tapestry (No. 606), which may have belonged to the Polish Royal Family, dated about 1470-1510; it represents the departure for a war expedition, and may have been designed by Vermeyen. Beneath are three paintings by Alessandro Varotari, called Padovanino: Potiphar's wife (No. 607), Bathsheba attended by her maid (No. 610), Judith (No. 608), which are considered amongst the best works of this master. On the R. wall the portrait of a Venetian admiral by Alessandro Longhi (1733-1813; No. 635) first strikes the attention; it revels in all the pomp and colour of Venetian decadence. Near it is G. B. Tiepolo's (1698-1769), a miracle of St. Patrick (No. 648), a perfect work revealing in each line the masterful craftsmanship of this wonderful painter. The holy Bishop in white attire quite commands the scene. On the opposite wall, near a much-discussed piece of tapestry, hangs a rather frigid "Deposition from the Cross," by Girolamo dal Santo, which originally decorated the lower chapel of S. Giustina. An arch admits us to the tribune of the large

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Room X. From the tribune we are confronted by the gem of this gallery, Girolamo Romanino's Madonna enthroned between two angels and four saints (No. 669, painted for the Church of S. Giustina in 1513). The youthful Virgin, holding the Infant closely to her on her lap, sits on a very high throne under a richly decorated classic canopy; two angels are crowning her; four saints (SS. Prosdocimo, Giustina on the L., Benedict and Monica) stand in front. Romanino vies here in richness of hue with the best of the Venetians, while the four figures in the front rank are very cleverly painted. The value of this



DETAIL OF A WINDOW IN VIA
UMBERTO I. (NO. 4)

picture is enhanced by its original gilded frame enclosing painted medallions. On the R. is another Madonna by Romanino (No. 672), the chief figure comparing well with the Virgin in his great work near by. Nos. 673-674 are two fine portraits by Titian much re-painted. Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti, 1512-94) has



MUSEO CIVICO—MADONNA ENTHRONED AND FOUR SAINTS
(BY GIROLAMO ROMANINO)

To face p. 228]

[Alinari, Florence

Museo Civico

here a calm Venetian Senator (No. 661); G. B. Morone (1510-78), a bald-headed warrior with rapacious eyes and heavily bearded (No. 677). No. 662, a Martyrdom of the SS. Felicianus and Primus, painted by Veronese in extremely brilliant colours in 1552 for the monastery of Praglia.

Room XI. At the back of the great picture by Romanino is a narrow hall, wherein have been collected since 1902 a few remains of the frescoes by Guariento which still existed in the old chapel of the Carraras. They consist of twenty-nine badly preserved fragments of different shapes and sizes, generally small, a few rather striking, the figures having an ecstatic expression. They represent a Madonna and Child, St. Matthew, and angels of the different hierarchies as imagined by mediæval theology.

We pass hence to the Museo Bottacin,* containing over 15,000 coins, amongst them a complete set of Paduan coins and a few unique Venetian pieces. Together with them are some modern works of art.

From Room III. we enter a series of smaller rooms. In the first of which are a few illuminated MSS. and some autographs which belong to the library of the Museo. Among the autographs, letters of Donatello, Squarcione, Veronese, etc. No. 166 is the famous MS. of the *Vitæ principum Carrariensium*, called *Codice Carrarese*. It has miniature portraits of the princes with their mottoes, executed by contemporary artists; the princes have particularly strong and sensual features. There is also another famous illuminated MS., the *Codice Capodilista*, besides original imperial charters, ducal commissions, incunabula and early prints with coloured woodcuts.

* Thus called by the collector and donor, Nicola Bottacin, a self-made, successful business man, a friend to Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, born at Vicenza, 1805, died 1876.

The next room contains old lace; the third old furniture, among it No. 208, a table supported by a couple of satyrs by Brustolon, on which stands a celebrated work by Riccio, probably a polling urn (No. 253). The fourth room contains old costumes, mostly ecclesiastical, and the fifth a remarkable collection of china. Although there are here a few good examples from other parts of Italy, the real interest lies in the Paduan specimens. Paduan workmen never attempted to vie with the artists of Central Italy, who elaborated porcelain into a real work of art. There is a Paduan plaque in the British Museum (No. 1258). Another unique piece, signed "Opus Nicholeti," is preserved here, which witnesses to the widely-spread influence of Mantegna's personality; it is presumably a potter's sign and was found in Via Boccalerie (cup-makers). So greatly akin to Mantegna's style is the subject of this plaque (a Madonna enthroned in a classic niche between SS. Lucy and Rocco * on a checked floor) that this Nicoletto was hastily assumed to be identical with Niccolò Pizzolo, Squarcione's pupil. Together with this plaque we may mention a famous silver plate chased by Wenceslaus Jamnitzer of Nuremberg in 1545, and a pewter plate by the French Briot.

Issuing from the Museum we proceed southward along Via Orto Botanico as far as the famous Botanical Garden, the first founded in Europe by Francesco Bonafede in 1545, under the name of Orto dei Semplici (Garden of Simples). Here is the so-called "Palma di Goethe," an old *Chamærops humilis* planted in 1585. When Goethe was here during his Italian journey, studying the numerous plants, he anticipated

* We may perhaps point out that Via Boccalerie, where the plate was dug out, is adjoining the church of S. Lucia and the Scuola of S. Rocco, the two saints represented on the plate.

Pra' della Valle

the theory of evolution. In presence of such a number of plants, witnessing to the multiformity of nature, the theory of the evolution of all species from one appeared to him as the only possible foundation for a scientific botanical classification.

Turning westward in Via Donatello, we debouch on Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, generally called Pra' or Prato della Valle, supposed to be a kind of Paduan Pantheon. This large area in Roman times contained a theatre; hence the mediæval name of Zairo (from the Latin, *theatrum*). Here Pietro della Vigna made his great speech in defence of Frederick II.; here again after 1208 theatrical performances were held, and after 1275 the Paduans crowded on each 12th of June to witness the races instituted that year to celebrate their liberation from Ezzelinian domination. Here were fought some of the fiercest battles of mediæval Padua, Prato della Valle being then outside the walls of the town. The name, meaning "the meadow of the valley," points to the marshy nature of the ground. After many fruitless attempts had been made to drain the soil, a Venetian nobleman, Andrea Memmo, in the eighteenth century, succeeded in the enterprise. On Domenico Cerato's plans he formed a regular elliptical enclosure, with a central island, linked by four bridges to a circular avenue flanked by eighty-two statues, and again surrounded by a wide road, even to this day used as racing ground. All famous men, in any way connected either with the city or the University, are supposed to be recorded here. A few instances of unwarranted exclusion may be found, but altogether Memmo's contention is correct, and his idea most noble and befitting an ancient city like Padua, proud of her ancient origin, of her Roman magnificence and of her importance in mediæval politics and in the history of culture. Even Goethe, chary of his praise,

approved the idea of this double ring of statues. Unfortunately few of them are of any merit. One is by Antonio Canova (the seventh on the R., in the inner row counting from the northern bridge), two by his master. Apart from the lofty trees another decorative feature of this square may be indicated in the Loggia Amulea. This characteristic pavilion was raised on the site of the Collegio da Mula in the style of the Italian fourteenth century municipal buildings, by Maestri, in order to give the officials of the city a stately eminence on race days. Vincenzo Vela wrought in 1865 the statues of Dante and Giotto.

At the south-eastern end of the Prato appears the heavy and unfinished façade of S. Giustina. The earliest foundation of a temple on this side is not now traceable. The legendary founder of Padua, the great Antenor, according to some chronicles, erected a temple to the goddess Concordia, which resisted all the shocks of time and the violence of barbarians until the first century of our era, when S. Prosdocimo buried S. Giustina in this church, which was then called after her. This is but tradition and it is most doubtful even whether Opilione rebuilt it in the sixth or seventh century. Still it is certainly true that the church was in existence in the earliest mediæval times, as we have seen (*see* p. 9). We have told how Venantius Fortunatus witnesses to the richness of the decorations in this church. A further account is recorded by an anonymous biographer of St. Daniel, who, writing at the beginning of the twelfth century and soon after the terrific earthquake of 1117, tells us of marbles and mosaics that were to be admired in the old church, then levelled to the ground. A new building was then erected but far simpler. Yet even this new one, probably owing to the unsoundness of the foundations resting on marshy ground, must soon

S. Giustina

have been replaced, as we have records and remains of another building in the fourteenth century. At length, two centuries later, the Paduans were again at work. Building was started in 1502 after the plans of Friar Girolamo da Brescia, but all the bricks and stones provided for the church sank into the miry soil. Consequent lack of money and political disorders (*see* p. 142) interrupted the work. In 1516 Andrea Riccio undertook the direction of the enterprise, which was subsequently entrusted to the Venetian Alessandro Leopardi (1521-32), and completed by the Bergamasque Andrea Morone. It is therefore difficult to judge now to whom we are indebted for the conception of this church, which in spite of the absence of a façade and other shortcomings, is altogether a remarkable example of what people in the full Renaissance considered a great building. One must travel far, perhaps to the Roman St. Peter's, to find a church comparable with S. Giustina. Even Joseph Woods, who disapproves of the eight cupolas towering above the church, rendering it, as he says, "almost as ugly as that of St. Anthony," and who disliked many details, acknowledges that "the general disposition has an appearance of space and airiness which is very magnificent."* The two griffins on the large steps admitting to the portal belonged certainly to the previous church. Joseph Woods has described its internal disposition as rather that of a series of vaulted recesses, opening into the nave and nearly as high as it, than a continuous aisle. The church is built on a most complicated plan, whose elaboration is enhanced by the plainness of the pillars and framings. The bare whitewashed walls help, to a certain extent, to convey a feeling of great space. It must be borne in mind that the church of S. Giustina has been a great

* *Op. cit.*, p. 246.

receptacle for the bodies of saints, and according to a legend, S. Urio, a most passionate and fortunate collector of relics, added to its importance by depositing in this church the innumerable relics gathered by him during his unceasing researches. In the eighth chapel, the R. arm of the transept, at the back of the altar, is a sarcophagus, which is supposed to contain a part of the body of St. Matthew. At the back of this tomb a door leads to the atrium where the well of the Innocents opens. Ecclesiastical traditions pretend that an almost infinite number of saints and martyrs are interred here. We proceed under the portico until we reach the little chapel wherein the body of St. Prosdocimus lies. The relief in front of the altar is by an unknown master of the fifteenth century. The Byzantine Virgin is supposed to have issued unharmed from the flames into which it was cast by Constantine IV. in 741. On the R. of the altar a trap-door admits to extensive subterranean passages, where many a famous relic was found and which were believed to lead from this church to the dome. The old choir is undoubtedly a relic of the previous fourteenth-century building. The beautiful Madonna by Romanino has been removed to the Museo, but the intarsias wrought on the stalls by Domenico da Piacenza and Francesco da Parma towards the middle of the sixteenth century are still to be admired here. Next to the door of the sacristy is a thirteenth-century relief, representing S. Giustina, from the old church, wrought for a portal in French style. On the high altar,* the large "Martyrdom of S. Giustina," executed in 1568 by Paolo Veronese. The heavy gilded columns on each side of the picture intensify the brilliant colouring. This is certainly one of the best works by the great master, but most of its effectiveness arises

* A small fee to the sacristan.



S. MARIA DEI SERVI. THE PORCH

S. Giustina

from the fact that it is seen where the painter intended it to be; the value of a picture being in the mind of a great decorator always strictly subordinated to the space it is intended to embellish. Taine thought this picture to be overcrowded, but it may be remembered that the Abbot had promised Paolo a golden sequin for each head included in the painting. Veronese, an absolute master of all technical difficulties, often fell short in the representation of pathos. His works are always a glory of colour and a miracle of decorative ability, but this painting, excellent in all points, shows also a touching expression of feeling in the head of the Saint. The stalls of the choir, decorated with reliefs representing scenes from the Old and New Testament, are again a magnificent piece of work. Although the plans for this decoration are believed to be by the Italian "stuccatore," Andrea Campagnola, one cannot fail to recognise in them a Flemish or Northern French influence. Father Eutichius Cordes of Antwerp directed the work, which was executed by the French Richard Taurigny. The latter was of a quarrelsome and changeable mood, and the monks were at great pains to keep him until the fulfilment of his work. Taurigny, having in a fit of uncontrollable temper cast an axe at a youth, and severely wounded him, the monks obtained permission from the Venetian Government that he should be imprisoned within the monastery and so complete his work (1556-60). At the back of the altar in the L. arm of the transept is an interesting tomb supposed to contain part of St. Luke's body. It is a curious tomb, raised on four twisted columns and supported by four angels; it was placed here by Gualpertino Mussato (*see* p. 93) in 1316.

Nothing else attracting our particular attention in the church we may inspect what is left of the monastery, which was practically wrecked by the Austrians in

The Story of Padua

1816, when it was put to military uses.* The rich and classic cloisters were built by Pietro Lombardo, Battista Fizionio (1588) and other architects. The larger cloister was once decorated by Bernardo Parentino (1489-94) in eleven compartments, representing the life of St. Benedict. Windows have been now pierced in the walls and only a few figures may be traced still, though faded and damaged, showing Mantegna's influence. This work was completed by Girolamo dal Santo. In the last cloister we find a feeble, Christ on the Mount of Olives, and a far better painting in the chapel of the same cloister, Christ with the Virgin and Mary Magdalen, both by Domenico Campagnola.

Crossing diagonally the Prato della Valle, we enter at the northern end the Via Umberto I.† Take the first turning on the L., Via Andrea Memmo; proceeding for about three minutes in a westerly direction, we reach Via Seminario. On our L. will then be seen the quaint oratory of S. Maria del Torresino, planned 1726 by Count Frigimelica, in honour of a miraculous image of the Madonna that was here. Its sole interest lies in its entire independence of all architectural rules. Turning into the Via Seminario we find at once on our R. the abandoned oratory of S. Bovo, used now as a store-room and sometimes as a Sunday school. Its frescoes of the late Renaissance

* Now the building serves as the barracks of an infantry regiment. Admission can be granted by the officer in attendance at the barracks. Ask the sentry for the "ufficiale di picchetto."

† This road is the most important in the town, crossing it from N. to S. somewhat tortuously from one end to the other. It has various names: Via Alla Ferrovia, from the railway station to Ponte Molini; Via Garibaldi and Via Cavour till Caffè Pedrocchi is reached; Via Otto Febbraio to the University; Via Roma to Ponte Torricelle; Via Umberto I. to Prato della Valle, and from here to Bassanello, Via Vittorio Emanuele.

S. Maria in Vanzo

are now absolutely worthless, notwithstanding the fact that Florigerio, Pordenone's master, worked in the lower room in 1533, and again in the second story together with Stefano dall' Arzere and Campagnola.

On the same side, a few steps lower down, is the Episcopal Seminary, instituted 1671, in a monastery of the Benedictines. The building has no architectural interest, but a visit to the rich library* containing a number of MSS., besides an important collection of early woodcuts, medals and prints, may interest the cultured traveller. The neighbouring church, S. Maria in Vanzo, is artistically far more important; it was built in 1436 at the expense of a Paduan nobleman, Domenico Campolongo, and enlarged in 1525, when the Lombardesque "screen" was probably added. Above the portal is a badly damaged Crucifixion by Michele da Verona, signed and dated 28th March 1505. Michele belonged to the school of Domenico Morone. The frescoes on the sides of the "screen," facing the entrance, are by Domenico Campagnola and represent, in various compartments, Apostles and Saints. Titian's Paduan pupil executed them in his best mood, with strongly-marked features and deep rich colours. A very good Entombment, by Jacopo da Ponte, dated 1574, may be seen on the altar to the L. of the high altar. The effects of light and shade obtained by simple means are noteworthy and enhance the emotional power of the picture. But by far the most renowned work in this church is the Virgin enthroned and Child, at her feet SS. Peter, Paul, the Baptist and Catherine, by Bartolomeo Montagna. Unfortunately the smoke from the candles and the damp have wrought havoc with the original colouring, but it is still interesting to watch how strong

* Open on week-days, except Wednesdays, from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m.

The Story of Padua

Mantegna's influence was on this cold and precise Brescian. His drawing is faultless though sometimes lacking in warmth.

We walk now northward along Via Seminario, and turn at the end of it into Via dei Rogati; Nos. 11 and 16 are now public schools, but were built in two different periods of the late Venetian Renaissance. Passing under a dark archway we debouch again on to Via Umberto I. We have thus left on the south the little church of St. Daniel, which has so often been rebuilt that no traces can be found either of its original architecture or of the tombs that it contained. We proceed northward along Via Umberto. Various houses may attract attention here as in most of the streets of Padua, but their decoration consists entirely in the pierced central balconies. We may mention as a curiosity No. 4 on the L., with a Gothic window spanned by four cusped arches; the framing of these arches, as well as the pillars and columns, are finished and decorated in strictly Renaissance style. The blending of styles is ingenious, but the result is unpleasing. Beyond the Ponte Torricelle, stood the ancient Porta Torricelle, demolished in 1819. A modern inscription recalls the kiss pressed upon the gate by Ezzelino on first entering the precincts of the city in 1237 (*see* p. 63). A little farther down on the L. is S. Maria dei Servi. The way is covered by a lean-to roof supported on slender columns. This was added alongside the church in 1511, at the expense of Bartolomeo Campolongo, who bought the columns which up to his day had stood in front of the old shrine of St. Anthony. The church itself was founded by Fina Buzzaccarini on the site of the palace of Nicolò da Carrara, which had been wrecked when the master was banished (*see* p. 108). The Servites occupied this church in 1393 and gave it its present



S. GIUSTINA—THE MARTYRDOM OF S. GIUSTINA (BY VERONESE)

To face p. 240]

[Anderson, Rome

S. Maria dei Servi

name. Of the old building little more than the walls are preserved, and the rich framing of the gate, opening under the porch. In the niche after the second altar on the R. a fresco under glass represents the Virgin and St. John weeping over Christ's body. Selvatico believes this fresco to have been painted by the same artist who executed the one on the pillar next to the side entrance on the R. in S. Antonio, who may have been a certain Resilao, living and working in S. Maria dei Servi about 1447. Beyond the baroque third altar is the cold classic tomb of Angelo and Paolo de Castro, both Professors of Law, ascribed with great probability to Bellano (1492). On the first altar on the L. is a weak painting by Stefano dall' Arzere. A short walk northward will bring us back to Caffè Pedrocchi.

CHAPTER XII

S. Francesco—Porta Portello—S. Sofia —The Church of the Eremitani

IF we enter again Via S. Francesco and proceed straight along it, we may note on the L., at the corner of Via Zabarella, No. 19, a much restored mediæval palace which belonged to the Zabarella family. Remains of fresco decoration can be seen on the Renaissance façade of No. 27. Shortly afterwards we reach the church of S. Francesco (on the R., No. 36), which was erected, or more probably rebuilt with funds bequeathed by Baldo Bonafario da Urbino and his wife, Sibilla, about the year 1420. The external appearance, notwithstanding its charming Gothic portico with slender columns, is no longer remarkable, as the Squarcionese frescoes which were painted on the façade and in the cloisters have entirely disappeared. Of the two doors under the portico, the first admits to the church, the second leads to the cloisters. The terra-cotta archivolt in the wall, the portico and the external wall of the church, are all that remain of the original building. Near it existed a hospital founded by the same Baldo. The church contains some remarkable works, above all, the fresco decoration of the second altar on the R., extending itself over the cupola and the arches of the aisle so as to bestow on the chapel a consistent unity. Girolamo dal Santo, the Paduan master, of Titian's school, painted this chapel in colours, rich, deep and harmonious. Charity and Faith flank the altar; on the L. wall the Birth of

S. Francesco

the Virgin and the Presentation in the temple; on the R. the Marriage of the Virgin and the Annunciation. The groinings of the roof, as well as all the traceries in the chapel and in the neighbouring part of the aisle, are filled with busts of Prophets, Apostles and Saints. On the whole, a well-conceived and richly-executed decoration. The restoration by Zambler has been careless but not ruinous. In the R. transept above the door leading to the sixth chapel is part of the bronze monument of Pietro Roccabonella, a doctor and a philosopher, executed in a rather stiff manner by Bellano. Another part of the same monument, showing the Virgin enthroned with SS. Peter and Francis, is next to the door on the R. of the L. transept. It was begun by Bellano but completed by Riccio. On the small altar of the sixth chapel is a panel painting by Palma Giovine of St. Gregory the Great. At the back of the high altar is a faded but remarkable painting by Veronese—the Ascension. The lower part of the huge painting was added in 1625 by Pietro Damini, as this part of the canvas has been brutally cut off and stolen. The door in the L. transept leads to the eighth chapel, on the altar of which is a Virgin by Campagnola.

There is nothing of much interest in this street, which leads to Pontecorbo,* but the traveller will surely be captivated by the charming view of the churches of S. Antonio and S. Giustina, that may be enjoyed from the bridge itself. An even more attractive point of view may be had from the Giardino Treves,† which was laid out by Japelli. The cupolas of S. Antonio tower above the trees and the stern

* The second road on the R. in Via S. Francesco, after the church, is Via Cesarotti, which leads at once to the Piazza del Santo.

† Admission by application to the porter of Palazzo Treves in Via Ospitale Civile, No. 14.

walls of S. Giustina show through the rich foliage. A hurried traveller may neglect these minor curiosities and on issuing from Via S. Francesco take the Via S. Sofia, just across the road, which will in less than five minutes bring him to the church of the same name. But should the traveller be free from too stringent limitations of time, after having proceeded as far as Via Ospitale Civile, he ought to skirt the hospital, cross the tramway track in Via Falloppio, and proceed direct eastward to Via S. Massimo. On No. 19 may be seen the remains of a late fresco decoration. The second road on the L. is Vicolo S. Massimo, and there immediately on the R. is the little church of S. Massimo, which has been enriched by three fine paintings by G. B. Tiepolo.

Hence a narrow, tortuous and sometimes dirty country lane will bring us in a couple of minutes to Via G. B. Belzoni, that was once called Borgo Ognisanti from the name of the church at the eastern end. We cross this road and walk into the poorly-inhabited but wide Via Portello, leading to Porta Portello. The gate itself, which is about one hundred and fifty yards ahead, was raised 1518-19, under the supervision of the Venetian magistrate, M. A. Loredan, by Guglielmo Gigli (Vielmo Vielmi da Alzano), called from his birthplace, Bergamasco. It is wrought in the style of a Roman triumphal arch, with double columns and a rather too rich decoration. This gate is of interest as it seems to provide a connecting link between the Venetian style of the Lombardi and that of Sansovino and Palladio.* We retrace our way

* In the ditch not far from this gate a Venetian antiquarian found a lion of St. Mark, carved in stone, which probably belonged to the gate. The lion stands now on the façade of the palace opposite Palazzo Venezia, in Rome. See G. Berchet, *Il Palazzo delle Assicurazioni Generali e il leone della facciata*, MDCCCLXXXI-MCMVI.

S. Sofia

back to Via Belzoni, and turning to the R. we descend along this road, through a poor quarter, whose architecture clearly shows that this suburb was a favourite one in old times, when practically all the traffic passed through Porta Portello on its way to Venice. The suburb has been ruined by the railway. Remains of the old church of S. Maria Iconia are to be seen in the round cupola with plain Gothic arches above No. 40. At the end of the road on the R. are the prisons in an old monastery, "dei Paolotti." No. 2, opposite to it, has a five-light Gothic window spanned by cusped arches.

Crossing once more Via Falloppio we find ourselves at the back of S. Sofia, one of the oldest churches in Padua. This suburb (the town finished at Ponte Altinate in mediæval times) may have been inhabited by a Greek colony, according to a plausible supposition. In fact, there are certain records of this church being in existence during the early Middle Ages. In consequence of the terrible earthquake of 1117, S. Sofia had to be partly rebuilt before 1123. The apse, which is lower than the rest of the church, is out of harmony with the remaining parts of the temple, with its triple row of small arches, interrupted by a protruding chapel. The whole of the apse is supported by massive buttresses. The large bricks, the rough carving of the capitals, the superabundance of small round arches, all witness to an original building dating from the ninth century; whereas the rest of the church bears marked traces of the Romanesque architecture of the twelfth. The vaulting of the nave is later. Originally the roof was wooden and rested on the walls that now rise above the ceiling. These elevated parts of the side walls, which may be viewed by ascending to the upper chamber, still preserve some traces of very old frescoes. Nothing

attracts us in the interior of the church beyond the apse, which shows a series of round niches with a rough decoration; the niches were probably intended to shelter the stalls of the choir. We leave the church and turn to look at the extremely simple façade. A terra-cotta arcading runs beneath the gable. The portal is flanked by four smaller arches. In the two niches on the L. were discovered some uninteresting Byzantine frescoes. Altogether the façade conveys a pathetic impression of neglect and decay. We proceed now in south-western direction along *Via Altinate*. Under the loggia at No. 50 there are remains of other Renaissance frescoes; No. 53 is a stately but late building; No. 41 is the church of S. Gaetano, erected (1581-86) by Vincenzo Scamozzi. Superabundance of ornament and excess of broken lines clearly announce the dawn of the baroque. Adjoining this church is the little chapel of S. Sepolcro; * entering, we find on the last altar on the L. a small half-figure of the Virgin, ascribed to Palma Vecchio. A few other houses may still detain us on our way—No. 26 with its Venetian Gothic façade; or the terra-cotta decoration of No. 18. But soon the stern profile of the old gate of *Porta Altinate* will confront us; before reaching it, however, let us turn sharply to the R. into *Via Eremitani* and *Piazza degli Eremitani*, another of the great centres of monumental Padua.

The churches which have been immortalised by the genius of Giotto and of Mantegna stand here side by side. As a chronological inspection of the monuments in the town would try the patience of the most painstaking traveller, we may view the *Eremitani Church* before the *Arena Chapel*, remanding to a special chapter a general outline of the development of Paduan art.

* The beadle for a small fee will open the iron railing on the L. of the church, admitting to it.



PORTA PORTELLO

The Church of the Eremitani

The church in its actual structure was executed between 1264 and 1276, receiving its present roof in 1306 by Fra Giovanni. The latter, a celebrated architect as well as a monk in this monastery, was largely employed in all the important buildings of the town. He was entrusted with the construction of the new leaden roof for the Salone, and secured from the Commune as a reward the old wooden roof, which he then adapted for his church. Nothing simpler could be imagined, yet it conveys a peculiar impression of religious calm and of artistic harmony. The whole structure is formed of plain brick, with some few terra-cotta mouldings round the doors and windows. The façade (1360) with the elegant rose-window and the peculiarly Paduan loggia beneath it is charming. The visitor who reaches the Piazza from the Via Eremitani will, at first sight, behold the harmonious fusion of the main fabric with the graceful apse and the square solid tower. He will also admire the elaborate Gothic south portal, whence one usually gains admission. The panels carved in the door represent the seasons, and were wrought by a Paduan artist in the fifteenth century. If the external appearance is plain, on entering we find a single-naved church whose charm rests solely on the due proportion of its lines and the artistic decoration. Above the portal is a painted Crucifix by an unknown disciple of Giotto. On the R. of the main door is a terra-cotta altar-piece which was certainly executed during the Paduan Renaissance. It is supposed to have issued from the school of Bellano, but was more probably wrought by Giovanni Minello, as was the other altar-piece on the opposite side of the door. The latter is more classically elaborated and contains a roundel, wherein an early indifferent Giottesque Madonna and Child are painted, and four more good roundels with Saints, ascribed to

Filippo da Verona or his school, and dated 1511. Facing each other on the two long walls of the church are the tombs of Ubertino (on the R.) and Jacopo II. da Carrara (*see* pp. 116 and 118) wrought by Andriolo de' Santi.* Jacopo's tomb is famous for its Latin inscription, composed by Petrarch, a protégé and friend of Da Carrara. Both princes had been interred in the church of S. Agostino, but in 1819, when that most remarkable building was unhappily levelled to the ground, the tombs received shelter here, together with the fragments of frescoes, which fill the space between the coffin and the Gothic arch spanning it. Petrarch's inscription has its own story. The courtiers and friends of the Da Carraras had time after time urged the poet to write an epitaph for the tomb of the late prince, and time after time Petrarch had pleaded lack of inspiration. At length, the day previous to his departure from Padua (3rd May 1351), he decided to seek inspiration by a visit to Jacopo's sepulchre. The poet proceeded with a certain solemnity amid a small company of friends. "The gates of the church," wrote Petrarch to Giovanni Aretino, "were closed; with some difficulty I gained permission to enter by disturbing the sacristan's repose. I bade my companions wait for me, and approached the tomb alone. Sitting near it, I addressed words to those ashes that could not answer me, and, in a short time, not without weeping, I composed sixteen elegiac verses, which were rather inspired by the anguish of my breast than by my mind or my art." †

The chapel dedicated to St. Augustine, in the Eremitani, was founded 1370, and rose near the southern portal. It was destroyed in 1610 to make

* He was paid 1000 ducats (about £500) for Jacopo's tomb in 1351. *See* G. Biscaro, in *Arte*, 1899, Nos. 1-3.

† Petrarch, *Ep. Fam.*, XI. 3.

The Church of the Eremitani

room for the chapter of the Confraternita dei Battuti della Cintura. It had been decorated by Giusto de' Menabuoi,* the Florentine master, who was naturalised a Paduan. The general plan of the decoration was scholastic and encyclopædic, the seven virtues being each accompanied by a sinner and a saint, and all linked by long inscriptions, as in many churches of this time, the most widely known of them being the Cappellone degli Spagnuoli in Florence. On the L. wall of the chapel four figures were discovered in 1897 which are quite consistent with this reconstruction of the decoration.

Proceeding on the R. the visitor will naturally be eager to reach the jewel of the church, the Cappella Ovetari da Cittadella, chiefly decorated by Andrea Mantegna and forming one of the famous series of Padua. Antonio Ovetari bequeathed seven hundred ducats for the decoration of this chapel, and prescribed the subjects for the future painters in his will of 1443. He seems to have contemplated a speedy execution of this work, but for some reason the painting of the chapel was delayed till May 1448, when Andrea Mantegna, together with Nicolò Pizolo, was allotted the decoration of half of the chapel, while Giovanni d'Alemagna and his brother-in-law, Antonio Vivarini da Murano were entrusted with the painting of the other half.†

* Julius von Schlosser, *Giusto's Fresken in Padua*, *Jahrb. der kunsthist. Sammlungen*, etc, Wien, 1896, Bd. XVII., p. 13 and following, gave a description of these lost frescoes in the diary of Hermann Schedel of Nuernberg, the future chronicler, who studied at Padua, 1463-66. Models for these frescoes, or at least very kindred illuminations, have been pointed out by the same critic in some MSS. of the time, among others in the MS. containing the poem of Convenevole da Prato, Petrarch's master, in the British Museum, marked 6. E. IX.

† See V. Lazzarini, "Documenti relativi alla pittura padovana del Secolo XV., a cura di A. Moschetti." *Nuovo Arch.*, Veneto, 1908, Nos. 69-70.

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The two last-named painters did not fulfil their task, as Giovanni died in 1450 and Antonio with-



S. SOFIA—THE APSE

drew. The decoration of the chapel was completed between 1448 and 1452. It is perhaps worth while recalling that of the four artists, Nicolò Pizolo was the oldest, being twenty-seven years of age, while

The Church of the Eremitani

Mantegna was the youngest, having just reached his seventeenth year. The discussion that has been raging between critics upon the authorship of the various frescoes in this chapel has been finally settled by newly-discovered documents. It is probable that Squarcione, owing to his commanding position among Paduan artists, was entrusted with the supervision and distribution of the work. Mantegna's share in the general plan of the decoration appears to be considerably smaller than was hitherto supposed. This is, however, the first fairly successful attempt at a well-balanced and efficient distribution of decorative compartments and their elaborate settings, in order to constitute a consistent and harmonious whole.

The chapel is practically formed by a square room with a high groined roof and a pentagonal apse. The decoration of the four spherical triangles of the vaulting over the nave, which seems independent of the general plan, had been allotted to Giovanni d'Alemagna and Antonio da Murano. Moschetti supposes, nevertheless, that they completed this part of their task with the exception of the heads of the Evangelist in the medallions, which must be ascribed to Pizolo. The two walls of the chapel are divided each in two half-lunettes, beneath which are two divisions of two compartments each. Altogether three pairs on each wall; and every single fresco harmonises with its fellow on the opposite side. All are most elegantly framed by painted pillars and entablatures and linked by wreaths of flowers and fruits. The authorship of some of these compartments is not quite undisputable; a careful study by experts may alter the present conclusions, but we will abide by the traditional attribution of the Anonimo Morelliano, though we may sometimes secretly dissent from it. The Anonimo in fact says that the L. wall was

entirely painted by Andrea, while only the lower compartments in the R. wall are to be attributed to him. On the L. wall we meet with the legend of St. James the Great (*see* p. 192)

The two lunettes do not compare well with the other compartments by Mantegna and are ascribed to Nicolò Pizolo. These scenes represent the Calling of the Sons of Zebedee and the Exorcism of the demons summoned by Hermogenes. We meet, however with the unmistakable style of Mantegna in the lower division. (3) Hermogenes baptised by the Saint; and (4) St. James before the king. In the lower section (5) St. James on his way to death, and (6) the beheading of the Saint.

The traveller must not forget that Mantegna was still in his youth and anxious to acquire the perfect mastery of his art. The perspective and the grouping are well-nigh perfect in Nos. 3 and 4. The figures are noble and finely moulded. Mantegna's classicism, far from being a servile imitation of old models, lies in his complete mastery of the austere artistic feeling of the ancients. The figures are calm and yet full of suppressed life. Donatello, whose influence on Mantegna is very apparent here, probably through the medium of Pizolo was, although a sculptor, far more dramatically gifted. Andrea is serene and olympic. In No. 5, perhaps, the modelling of the figures is somewhat obtrusive, though this is one of the best of the series and unimpaired in its effectiveness by a peculiar trick of perspective. No. 6 shows us the master under the influence of the Bellinis. There are such Mantegnesque peculiarities in the fresco as to render the attribution fairly certain from a critical standpoint, yet the sweet face of the Saint, the treatment of some parts of the hilly background and above all the figure of the man on horseback on the R., recall the Bellinis. Among

The Church of the Eremitani

Jacopo Bellini's drawings there is a sketch very akin to this horseman. Mantegna's altered style is more marked in the two paintings on the opposite wall and was clear also to Vasari, who tells an interesting anecdote about it. According to Vasari's account Squarcione did not conceal his disapproval of Mantegna's first achievements in this chapel, saying "that the figures in them were more like marble statues than like living men" ("non aver somiglianza di vivi ma di statue antiche di marmo.") Some financial and general disagreements between old Squarcione and his adopted son may have contributed to the bitterness of his criticism; but it is certain that Mantegna subsequently adopted some of the methods of the Venetian school of colourists.

On the opposite wall is represented the history of St. Christopher. The giant, who is twelve cubits in stature, wishes to take service with the most powerful lord in the world. After having faithfully served a king for a while, he discovers him to be afraid of the Devil, and arguing the latter to be more powerful, he starts in search of the Prince of Darkness, whom he finds at the head of a great army in a desert. But the Devil trembled on passing by a cross, and Christopher left him in order to find the Lord of the Cross. A pious hermit advised him to take advantage of his high stature to convey the wayfarers across a river, as by so doing he would serve the Lord of the Cross. Jesus at last appeared to the giant as a child who asked to be carried across. During the passage the Child Jesus became terribly heavy and nearly overwhelmed the great strength of the Saint. At the end He revealed Himself and ordered the giant to plant in the ground the tree he used as stick, which would at once bud, and the prophecy was immediately accomplished. Later, in Samos of Lycia, Christopher converted, by

the repetition of the miracle of the tree, many thousands of people; also the soldiers sent to effect his arrest were soon converted, but he ordered them to bring him before the King Dagnus. The latter endeavoured in vain to win him, either by tempting with power, or a life of pleasure, or by the threat of torture by fire. Four thousand soldiers then received the order to shoot at him. But the arrows miraculously stayed in the air, and as the king blasphemously insulted the Saint one of the arrows turned back and penetrated the King's eye. The Saint announced that the eye could only be healed by the application of his blood, and he was at once beheaded.

On the L. part of the lunette (1) St. Christopher before the king; on the R. (2) the Saint meeting the Devil dressed as a prince. Both are uninteresting paintings by Ansuino da Forlì, a pupil of Piero della Francesca, who though retaining some of his master's manner in the treatment of the figures, arranged the picture in strict, if faulty, Paduan style. In the lower portion (3) the Saint carrying the Child Jesus, executed with poor skill by Bono da Ferrara; on the R. (4) the Saint preaching to the soldiers sent to arrest him, also by Ansuino. Beneath are the already-mentioned compartments by Mantegna: (5) the martyrdom and (6) the translation of the body of the Saint.

A remarkable appearance of unity is secured in the two last compartments by providing one continuous background. The king is seen at the window in the L. compartment with the arrow in his eye. Some of the figures in this fresco are full of life and are certainly portraits; by some they have been identified with Squarcione and his great pupil.

The decoration of the apse must be ascribed to Nicolò Pizolo, the very gifted follower of Squarcione, who constituted the connecting link between the



EREMITANI—THE APSE

R

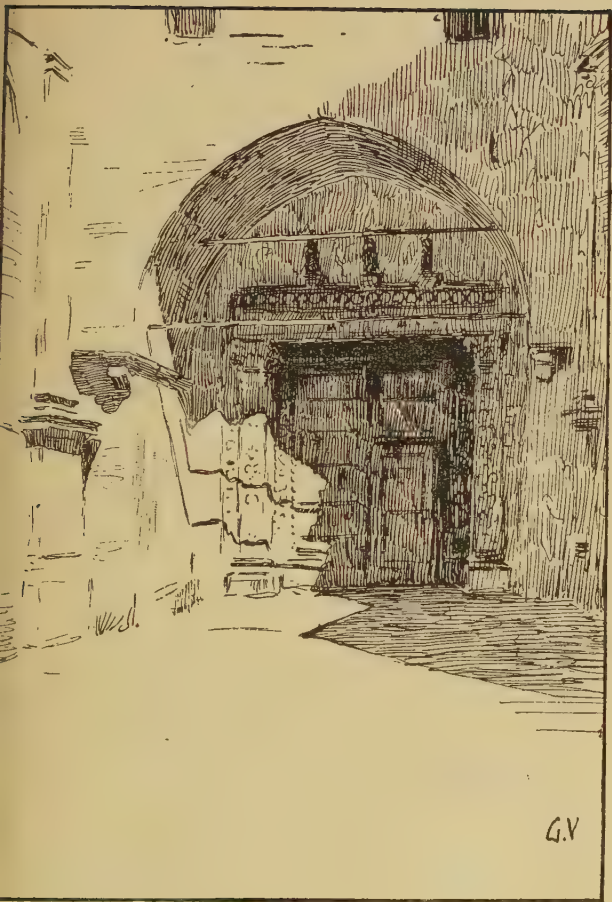
The Church of the Eremitani

Paduan school and Donatello. We have seen in fact that Pizolo was at work with the Florentine master in the Santo. The young artist's genius was highly appreciated, but his dissolute habits brought him to an early and inglorious end in a street fight. The segments of the vaulting over the pentagonal apse contain the Lord surrounded by SS. Peter, Paul, James and Christopher, strongly modelled if somewhat hard. Lower, in the round spaces of the cylindrical frieze, are four medallions to match the round window, which contain very cleverly-drawn seated figures of the Fathers of the Church. At the back of the altar is a beautiful and naïve Assumption of the Virgin, the playing angels being particularly pretty, while the group of the dazed Apostles looking up is highly effective. This fresco is unfortunately partly covered by the beautiful terra-cotta altar-piece, executed by Minello, probably under Pizolo's direction, and is moreover seriously damaged, but, if it is the work of Pizolo, art has lost in him a master nearly as great as Mantegna.

Returning to the church we meet first the chapel of the family Dotti, built in the fourteenth century for Francesco Dotto, whose most remarkable tomb on the R. may be appreciated for its fine proportion of lines in spite of the narrowness of the chapel. The frescoes are ascribed to Altichiero's school. The walls of the choir were decorated with frescoes by Guariento with scenes from the life of St. Augustine, but in 1589 they were outrageously repainted in order to restore the fading colours and probably also to reconcile these peculiar fourteenth-century works with the classic intolerance of the later Renaissance. The upper part of the decoration is therefore scarcely deserving of notice, while the only decently preserved parts of it are the allegories of the planets in the lower portion

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and some small scenes from the Passion of our Lord. The allegories of the planets are painted in monochrome, and all more or less on the same model. The planet is represented by a human figure, while another couple of human beings, of smaller size, express, by their demeanour, the good or bad influence which was attributed to that particular planet by mediæval astrology. Beginning from the L. we find first (1) the Moon, depicted as a woman sitting on the axle of a two-wheeled chariot. Her instability is shown, as is the case with Giotto's Inconstancy, by the poising of her feet on two spheres. The traditional influence of the moon on lunatics is indicated by a curious couple. The man rides a long cane, the woman holds a doll and pulls a toy car by a string. (2) Mercury, the divinity of learning, has donned a monk's cowl, and teaches the man from a book, while he offers a spool to the woman. (3) Venus admires herself in a mirror, while the couple seem under the influence of undisciplined love. (4) The earth is represented by a dark and nearly undistinguishable symbol. A man with a tiara on his head holds a globe and cross and sits on a throne, supported by lions. This implies perhaps the supremacy of the Church in the world. (5) Mars is a warrior on a spirited steed, both he and the illustrative couple being exceedingly well drawn for that period. (6) Jupiter. A painter of Middle Ages did not refrain from representing the God of Christianity with the features of the heathen son of Saturn; here he is accompanied by a man reading and a woman praying, faith as well as science deriving from the Lord. (7) Saturn sits on a prostrate tree because humanity issued from trees; he induces cold and old age, which are expressed by the old couple. The small compartments illustrating the Passion of Our Lord are at the back of the altar and may be



EREMITANI—SOUTH PORTAL

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easily overlooked. As no difficulty will be experienced in deciphering the various scenes, we will merely call the attention of the visitor to the artistic importance of some of them. Guariento appears here a greater master than in any other of his known works. If the visitor will compare the expression on the face of the dead Christ with that of the Saviour of the Resurrection he will be convinced of the power of this early painter. The drawing shows marked improvement on the earlier series, although Guariento's treatment of the monochrome is far inferior to that of Giotto's.

Some interesting paintings and sculptures may be seen in the sacristy. On the L. side of the church is very conspicuous the rich sepulchre of Marco Mantova Benavides, wrought by Bartolomeo Ammanati in 1546.*

The present "*Scuola d'Applicazione per gli Ingegneri*," which faces the church of the Eremitani, was originally Palazzo Cavalli, and as such was the scene of dreadful tragedy during the sixteenth century. Vittoria Accoramboni, from a very humble origin, had risen through her personal charm to be the wife of the Roman Prince Paolo Orsini, Duke of Bracciano. After her husband's murder, she had been compelled to flee from Rome (where his relations plotted steadily against her life), in order to seek safety under the Venetian Signory. But in Padua she was surprised by her cousin, Lodovico Orsini, who slew her together with her brother. Lodovico Orsini himself is said to have coolly pointed to the breast of the praying and weeping woman, where he intended that the fatal blow should be dealt.

* Benavides, a celebrated professor at the University, had collected a large number of antiquities in his house at the back of the Eremitani (No 26 Via Porciglia, now Palazzo Corinaldi). His house was decorated with frescoes and sculptures. In the courtyard stand the overpraised giant and a classic triumphal arch by Ammanati.

CHAPTER XIII

*The Arena Chapel—Ponte dei Molini
—I Carmini—Porta Codalunga
—S. Giovanni di Verdara—
Porta Savonarola—S. Benedetto
—S. Pietro.*

“Yet rightly was young Giotto talked about,
Whom Cimabue found among the sheep,
And knew, as gods know gods, and carried home
To paint the things he had painted, with a deep
And fuller insight”

MRS. BROWNING, *Casa Guidi Windows.*

WITHIN the girdle of massive walls that witnessed, during Roman times, the barbarous fights of gladiators and the ferocious spectacle of human flesh offered to wild beasts, secluded, as if shrinking both from the spell cast by old memories and from the grandeur of the environment, rises a church, whose magnificent fresco decoration prompts all sensitive onlookers to a genuine outburst of religious and artistic enthusiasm. While we stand outside the old amphitheatre, its remains look hardly more than a circular heap of wrecked walls and debris; but the green lawn and the lovely flower-beds covering the arena of heathen festivities, and the plants creeping over the ruins, suggest many considerations attending the rise

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and fall of empires. The Arena,* which had suffered during the first centuries of our era from the erosion of time and from the destructive hands of men, was presented by Henry III. to Bishop Milo in 1090. One of the latter's successors sold it to the family Dalesmanini, from which Enrico Scrovegno acquired it in 1300. The different proprietors had erected in it a strong palace, whose remains may still be seen in the pillars of the entrance gate. Enrico Scrovegno rebuilt and embellished it, and created a magnificent mansion. Chroniclers, from Mussato to Savonarola, agree in praising it as one of the most stately palaces in Italy. Later proprietors slightly altered the former transitional Lombardo-Gothic style to a more classic one, which it preserved until its stupid destruction in 1820.†

Adjoining the palace towards the east was formerly a small chapel dedicated to S. Maria Annunziata, in which from 1278 an annual festival had been held on Lady-day, when the Annunciation was represented "in the manner of our English mysteries (and under the same title, *una sacra rappresentazione di quel mistero*), with dialogue and music both vocal and instrumental."‡ And the *Podesta* as well as the officials of the guilds solemnly assisted in the procession. The old chapel stood probably on the same spot where

* Admission to the Arena Chapel (from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. on weekdays; fee 1 lira; 20 centimes for children; open on Sundays from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m.; fee 20 centimes) may be gained by ringing the bell at the iron gate facing Via Eremitani.

† There is quite a literature about this chapel, but Andrea Moschetti, *La Cappella degli Scrovegni e gli affreschi di Giotto in essa dipinti*, Firenze, Alinari, 1904, is certainly the most up-to-date work on the subject. The reader may find in it an ample bibliography, and I am chiefly indebted to this careful treatise for the identification of works in the chapel.

‡ J. Ruskin, *Giotto in Padua*, pp. 3-4. London, Allen, 1899.

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the new one was erected, and Moschetti points to the small thirteenth-century tabernacle fixed in the wall of the sacristy just above the window as being the only remains of the ancient church.

The father of Scrovegno, Reginald, had accumulated great wealth, valued by an almost contemporary chronicler at more than a score of thousand pounds, an enormous amount for those days. And so widely spread was the fame of Reginald's avarice, that it won for him a place in Dante's Hell:

“Noting the visage of some who lay
Beneath the pelting of that dolorous fire
One of them all I knew not ; but perceived
That pendent from his neck each bore a pouch *
With colours and with emblems various marked
On which it seemed as if their eye did feed.”

“And one who bore a fat and azure swine
Pictured on his white scrip thus
What dost thou in this deep ? Go now and know,
Since yet thou livest, that my neighbour here,
Vitaliano, on my left shall sit,
A Paduan with these Florentines am I.”

CARY's *Dante*, Inf. xvii.

Reginald's son, a peaceful and religious man, was not inclined to pursue his father's unscrupulous calling, and “is reported to have rebuilt the chapel with greater costliness, in order, as far as possible, to efface the memory of his father's unhappy life.” †

* The mediæval statute-books of Padua inflicted a similar punishment on money-lenders, putting them in the stocks with a leather pouch hanging from the neck.

† Reginald must have been uncommonly hard on his debtors, but let us remember that in mediæval as in all ignorant ages, any crisis in trade was deemed by the people to be the result of cruel hoarding and usury. Money-lenders were of course a financial necessity and made naturally great profits, though they often took advantage of their position and consequently provoked bitter retaliation on the part of the people.

The Arena Chapel

Moschetti repudiates Giotto's authorship of the architectural plan of the chapel on the ground of the evident limitations forced by it upon the painter, and ascribes it to Fra Giovanni Eremitano, supporting his opinion with the great fame enjoyed by this monk, who was entrusted at the same time with the execution of many public works, and who even lived in the neighbouring church of the Eremitani. He supposes, with some probability, the figure of the Augustinian monk, who holds, together with Scrovegno, a little model of the chapel in the lower compartment of the Last Judgment, to be a portrait of Giovanni. The chapel was begun in 1303 and finished 1305, both in the structural and decorative parts. Scrovegno was so pleased with it, that he begged from the Venetian Signory the loan of the famous tapestries of St. Mark to adorn the chapel on the day of its solemn consecration, and on account of his wealth, as well as for the admiration excited by Giotto's frescoes, obtained it. Later, Enrico Scrovegno, incapable in his "imbecile helplessness" as a chronicler writes, to protect himself and his wealth from the greed of unscrupulous foes, such as Marsilio da Carrara, escaped to Venice and died there after 1336, ordering in his will of that year that he was to be buried in the chapel dedicated by him to S. Maria della Carità. His original sepulchral monument, probably wrought by Giovanni da Pisa (died 1320), who sculptured also the statues on the altar, was removed, after 1360, to its present place in the sacristy. A full-length statue of Enrico stands in a Lombard niche in perfect harmony with the little arcades of the choir stalls in the apse. Evidently this statue, on whose plinth is carved the inscription: "*Propria figura Domini Henrici Scrovegni de Arena*" (the true portrait of E.S.), originally stood as the donor's tomb at the back of the altar.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century the piety of some descendants commissioned an unknown but extremely clever master to carve the present tomb with the fine recumbent figure, which was substituted for the original statue at the back of the altar.

The plan and the façade of the church are simple and severe ; yet the narrow nave and the very long apse combine gracefully. The Lombard portal and the three-light window above it, with its Gothic tracery overspanned by a Lombard arch, form, together with the slight decoration of the pediment, the sole adornments of the brick building. The southern wall is pierced by six long and narrow windows in the Lombard-Gothic style. A small sacristy lies at the northern side and has a single window facing east.

The light tones of the frescoes, that cover the walls up to the vault, convey at the first glance an indescribable impression of nobility, which is greatly enhanced by a nearer consideration of the scenes pictured by Giotto. "The drawing of Giotto is, of course, exceedingly faulty. His knowledge of the human figure is deficient."* "He was not indeed one of the most accomplished painters, but he was one of the greatest men who ever lived. He was the first master of his time, in architecture as well as in painting ; he was the friend of Dante and the undisputed interpreter of religious truth, by means of painting, over the whole of Italy. The works of such a man may not be the best to set before children in order to teach them drawing ; but they assuredly should be studied with the greatest care by all who are interested in the history of the human mind."† Nor will anybody forget that we enter by this threshold a room wherein are preserved some of Giotto's best paintings, in the position for which they were executed and

* Ruskin, p. 44.

† Ruskin, p. 44.

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which have escaped the more grievous restoration of past ages. This temple of art is filled by the spirit of the old master, so quiet and calm and serious at his work.

Giotto divided all the space available for decoration into compartments, adapting these divisions, as far as possible, to the architectural requirements of the building and endeavouring to give in each compartment an illusion of space. In both directions we perceive unavoidable shortcomings. But altogether the disposition of the scenes along the walls is extremely clever and shows that Giotto possessed self-restraint which, when joined with inspiration, is a gift of genius alone. The six windows forced the master to a definite order in the distribution of the subjects. He drew therefore from the middle of the northern wall a wide vertical polychromatic band with various decorative designs, which encloses roundels wherein are painted heads of Saints. The band, starting from the allegorical figure in the panel below, rises to the top of the side wall, runs across the vaulted ceiling and is interrupted on the opposite side at the height of the windows. Two more similar bands frame the whole decoration of the nave, forming two arches at the beginning and at the end of the side walls; these bands descend along the whole of the southern side. The roundels are more numerous in those parts of the bands which decorate the ceiling. The latter is thus divided and framed into two large and nearly square compartments, each of them containing five additional medallions, regularly disposed. Moreover each of the two large vertical portions on the northern wall is divided by two similar, if somewhat simpler, vertical bands, which do not extend on to the ceiling but are reproduced on the opposite side both above and beneath the windows, which are altogether the main dividing element of the southern wall.

Such being the vertical division, Giotto disposed the decorative compartments in four stories. The lowest is formed by narrow panels, filled with allegories of the virtues or vices, painted in monochrome. The second and third are beneath the slight horizontal framing decoration. The fourth is above this frame and invades part of the vaulted ceiling.

Giotto had determined to illuminate the walls of this chapel with the sublimest and most touching event of Christianity, the Redemption of man through the Passion of Jesus Christ; but, as a true fourteenth-century artist, he could not prevent himself from entering the world of allegory and from symbolising in the course of all these scenes the ascension of man to perfection through pain and sorrow. In this chapel there is no need of any effort on the visitor's part to recall past ages. Here everything stands as it was originally, and he feels himself wondrously transported back to the poetic and turbulent fourteenth century. The impression of calm sincerity conveyed by these frescoes depends greatly on the extraordinary preservation of their colours. Most of them are only slightly faded, with the sole exception of some dark blues, which were obtained by the employment of ultramarine, a very expensive and therefore sparingly used colour. But Giotto, if far from the perfection of later painters, was a bold draughtsman and a particularly strong colourist. And it is now generally admitted that the power of painting rests with the clever distribution of the masses of colour.

Giotto had to exert an untiring self-restraint in order to choose the subjects for his frescoes. Leaving aside the seventy-four roundels in the vertical bands and the ten medallions on the ceiling, there are in the nave fourteen chiaroscuro allegorical figures, a large painting distributed into three scenes above the entrance,

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four compartments, one divided in two on the arch of the tribune, sixteen compartments on the R. wall and eighteen on the L. Considering furthermore that the roundels of the second and third bands on the L. contain smaller scenes instead of the usual head of a Saint, we have nine-and-forty stories depicted by Giotto in this nave. Professor Moschetti in the summing up of his book rightly points out that perhaps to no other artist was vouchsafed such an opportunity for exhibiting his power as was to Giotto. This was not a chapel adjoining or pertaining to a larger church, and consequently limiting the painter's inspiration within a small space. Nor was the artist called upon to decorate too large a room, nor his inspiration impaired by the works of other masters on neighbouring walls. His mind was free from disturbing suggestions, his brush free from too stringent architectural limitations. Nor did Giotto waste his opportunity. The master reproduced here some of the scenes that he painted in Assisi, but it is not known which series was painted first. Some of the Assisian frescoes, according to Broussolle,* adhere more strictly to the legends and less to the Gospels. We may occasionally refer to these frescoes for comparison.

The two larger central medallions on the ceiling represent the Virgin and Child and the Saviour, each surrounded by four medallions containing heads of Prophets. Giotto, aiming at the exaltation of the Madonna, told part of her life-story, and insisted principally on the life of her Divine Son, as the most powerful means for carrying out this purpose. Hence the Saviour looks down from the vault together with His mother.†

* J. C. Broussolle, *Les fresques de l'Arena à Padoue*. Paris, Dumoulin, 1905.

† The numbers of the figures are those provided by the plan supplied in the chapel.

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(1) In the lunette above the tribune is painted the Triumph of Christ, a prelude to the series. This has been so much damaged by damp that it is difficult to identify the central figure enthroned among a company of angels. Moschetti thinks it represents God the Father, but his reasons fail to convince us to abandon the almost universal tradition. The story of the Virgin begins with fig. 2, the first subject towards the tribune in the fourth series of the R. wall, the Rejection of Joachim's offering." The priest Isaachar, or more probably his scribe Reuben, according to the Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew, which seems to have been directly or indirectly followed by Giotto, stands in the enclosure of a Byzantine temple talking to a child, and in a second scene * driving Joachim from the temple. The face of Joachim fully expresses his feeling of indignation and shame. (3) Joachim, oppressed by grief, retires among his shepherds. The old man, a beautiful pensive figure, is just arriving at his sheep-fold. (4) After five months the Lord sent an angel to announce her husband's return to Anna, who, in Jerusalem, was lamenting her childless state and Joachim's disappearance, and bids her meet him at the Golden Gate. Anna receives the angel kneeling. A maid is spinning in the hall in a most natural attitude. (5) The same angel subsequently appeared to Joachim,

* Giotto, as indeed other painters of his age and of later days, often condensed in one picture two or more scenes. This arrangement, though unpleasing to our love for exactitude, certainly helps to impress the onlooker with the fact that the painting represents one scene of a continuous series, and was defended by Ruskin, who wrote (p. 79): "This practice was frequent among the early painters, and must necessarily become so wherever painting undertakes the task of lengthened narrative. Much absurd discussion has taken place respecting its propriety; the whole question being simply whether the human mind can or cannot pass from the contemplation of one event to that of another, without reposing itself on an intermediate gilt frame."

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carrying a blossoming rod and delivered his message. According to the Pseudo-Matthew, the angel bade Joachim make a sacrifice, and as soon as the smoke from the sacrifice rose, the angel ascended with it into heaven. While the first scene was represented by Giotto in the foreground this second was painted in the background. Both Nos. 4 and 5 are rather stiff and far inferior to the following two scenes, which form the centre of the first series of frescoes relating to the birth of the Virgin. (6) This scene may seem a repetition of No 5, and is derived from the Golden Legend wherein Joachim is said to have received the announcement of the birth of the Virgin during his sleep. The figures of the Saint sound asleep and of the unconscious shepherds are admirable and naturalistic. (7) Husband and wife meet, according to the prediction, at the Golden Gate. The grouping is poor, but the central figures are "full of the most solemn grace and tenderness." (8) We turn from this to the northern wall, containing scenes from Mary's youth. The first, the Birth of the Virgin, shows the same simple room as in No. 4, and witnesses to Giotto's realistic tendency. (9) The Presentation in the temple. The Virgin looks rather a diminutive woman than a girl three years old. Early painters were unable to represent infancy. Yet the simple unconscious attitude of the Virgin, the tender and admiring expectation of the priest and of the two onlookers on the R. are very powerfully expressed. (10) The rods brought to the High Priest. The High Priest had ordered all the unmarried men of the house of David to present a rod to him, and Mary was to be wedded to that one whose rod blossomed, and on its top the Spirit of the Lord would sit in the appearance of a dove. In this, a rather stiff and damaged fresco, the bearded St. Joseph is seen on the L. humbly

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concealing his rod. (11) The watching of the rods at the altar. Though the eager and earnest attitude of the suitors deserves praise, the picture on the whole is among the least graceful ones. (12) The Betrothal of the Virgin. St. Joseph carries his rod with the symbolical dove; he looks frightened and confused. The Virgin bears, as is usual in Giotto's paintings, a dignified and solemn mien. On the L. one of the unsuccessful suitors steps forward mocking the betrothed, another in bitter disappointment breaks his rod on his knee. This is a most graceful figure which was imitated both by Perugino (Caen) and by Raphael (Brera, Milan). (13) Mary, according to the Jewish custom, was accompanied to her husband's house by her friends and by musicians. Giotto, feeling free from traditional iconography, displays in this design all his power, but unfortunately the painting is damaged. Still the figure of the lute player, quite absorbed by the notes he is drawing from his instrument, is beautiful. The Virgin herself is full of grace, and her nobility is enhanced by the comparison with the bride's attendant maidens, more sensuous and human in their appearance. (14 and 14A) The Annunciation. The scenes from the youth of the Virgin are now completed and we reach once more the triumphal arch. Giotto certainly chose the situation for this subject just below Christ's triumph, as it is the culminating point in the life of the Madonna. Later, her life is subordinate to that of her Son. Broussolle points out that Giotto followed up to this scene the legendary texts of the Pseudo-Matthew and of the Golden Legend, but that from now onwards he abides strictly by the Gospels. According to a very frequent arrangement of this scene, the angel is painted on the L. of the arch, Mary on the R. The design is slightly conventional. Both the angel, who is draped

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with classic dignity, and the Virgin, are calm and grave, and seem conscious of the great mystery which is accomplished through them. The Virgin herself is devoid of that fear, which she shows in later sixteenth-century paintings, at the sudden and unexpected message of the angel. (15) Immediately beneath the Virgin of the Annunciation, Giotto painted the Salutation, wherein we behold Mary received with tender admiration by St. Elizabeth. The master cast aside all accessories, directing the whole of his expressive power, and consequently focussing the attention of the beholder on the central group. Ruskin points out that this scene is practically independent of the whole system of decoration of the chapel, and "challenges comparison with the work of later masters. Nor is the challenge feebly maintained. I have no hesitation in saying, that among all the renderings of this scene which now exist, I remember none which gives the pure depth and plain facts of it so perfectly as this of Giotto's" (p. 97).^{*} (16) The Nativity, which is the first of the third series on the R. wall, brings us into a more familiar cycle of stories, dealing with the childhood of Christ. St. Joseph slumbers in the foreground, and the subsequent announcement of the event to the shepherds by the angels is shown on the R. (17) Adoration of the Magi is a very well-grouped scene and strongly realistic in the expressive faces of the wise men, if somewhat unsuccessful in the attempt to be independent of tradition. (18) The Presentation in the Temple

^{*} Beneath this is an allegorical panel by Giotto, a lamp hanging from the ceiling of an empty room with a Gothic window. The same scene is repeated in the corresponding compartment on the other side of the arch. The meaning of these designs is difficult to guess. Beneath this, in a lower and smaller panel, an unknown master has added the scene of the Mount of Olives.

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was chosen by Giotto, as by many of his predecessors, as a more fitting episode than the circumcision, which he designed in one of the roundels of the opposite wall. Also the disposition is quite agreeable to tradition, whereas the Assisian painting is more independent of it.* (19) In the Flight into Egypt the Virgin maintains her usual dignified and severe countenance. (20) The massacre of the Innocents shows that Giotto was quite unable to represent the cruelty and poignancy of this episode. It is on the level of the miniaturists. Herod overlooks the butchery from a tower. But the master's attempt to represent the mothers' anguish is painful to behold. The Assisian picture is again far more impressive and powerful. (21) Christ Teaching in the Temple is the first compartment of the third series on the northern side, and even in its present very damaged condition shows, as Ruskin wrote, that Giotto fell "below his usual standard." Christ sits in the centre of a temple of strictly Romanesque architecture. We meet here with the first attempt in this series to give to the Saviour a characteristic physiognomy. (114) The roundel between this and the subsequent compartment

* We may perhaps be allowed to mention here a very attractive suggestion by Moschetti (pp. 128-140), which would settle an important point in the chronology of Giotto's works, although it leaves some particulars unexplained. Usually his first stay in Assisi is put before 1302, but nearly all critics find many differences between the Assisian pictures of the first period and those called of the second, while they all agree in considering them antecedent to the frescoes in Padua. Moschetti believes those of the second period to be subsequent to the Paduan, and supposes Giotto to have been recalled to Assisi in 1304. He would thus have entrusted some pupil with the decoration of the apse of the Paduan chapel, after his designs. Some shortcomings in the later Assisian frescoes would be explained by the collaboration of pupils, who had already helped the master in the Cappella degli Scrovegni.

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contains a circumcision, the baptism of blood being thus compared with the following (22) Baptism of Christ. The somewhat strange treatment of this subject arises from Giotto's adherence to tradition. The River Jordan was represented by the Eastern artists as a broad wave without any banks. Giotto added the rocky banks, but he still preserved the convex form of the stream. In this panel Christ is painted with the features that Giotto more or less adhered to throughout the series. (115) In the roundel Moses causes water to spring from the rock as a preface to the miracle No. (23), the Marriage in Cana. (116) The roundel representing the creation of man corresponds with (24) the resurrection of Lazarus, one of the most remarkable designs of the whole series. Giotto here was not bound by the traditional rendering of the episode. Here is no tabernacle out of which Lazarus steps on his restoration to life. Also the grouping of the figures has been arranged with powerful and most successful originality. Christ and Lazarus are relegated to the sides, and the centre of the scene is occupied by some deeply interested youths, who show with their attitude the miraculous deed that is taking place. Also the group of the Apostles is highly effective, but the attention of the onlooker is forcibly drawn to the centre of the fresco. (117) An old man presenting his mantle to the poor is intended to compare with the subsequent picture, wherein people strew their garments in the way for the Saviour. (25) Giotto endeavoured to render the entry into Jerusalem with realistic care, yet his technique was unequal to the task. The inhabitants of Jerusalem are seen on the R., issuing from the Golden Gate to meet the Restorer of Lazarus. They hasten to throw their clothes before the ass ridden by the Saviour. (118) An angel chasing a demon is the prelude to (26)

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the expulsion from the temple, which, as Ruskin rightly points out, ought to be more properly called "the expulsion from the outer court of the temple, as Giotto has indicated by placing the porch of the temple itself in the background" (p. 131). Giotto as usual fell short in the representation of violent action. No



THE ARENA

muscle in Christ's face is moved by wrath, no indignation shown while He drives out the money-changers. The children sheltering themselves from the sudden outburst are charming. (27) In the *Thirty Pieces of Silver*, the deep knowledge of human nature revealed by Giotto in the drawing of the features of Judas is worth noting. The latter's head bears all the marks of what we now term "degeneration." His face is sensual and almost bestial. Also the position of this scene, just beneath the angel of the Annunciation, is of set purpose.

The Arena Chapel

Perhaps Giotto, thinking that this chapel had been founded by Scrovegno in expiation of his father's grasping life, desired this scene, representing the base treachery of Judas, to be an admonition to all, as well as a penance for Reginald Scrovegno's usury. (28) The first painting of the second series next to the tribune on the R. side is the Last Supper. This is far from being among the best panels of the series. The silvery halos round the heads of the Apostles were meant to be translucent; they appear rather to be so many silver plates pressed against the faces of the Apostles, who have their backs to the onlooker. (29) The washing of the feet. (30) The kiss of Judas. Giotto had already wrought a similar picture in Assisi, but the progress from that one to this is immense. Forsaking all traditional renderings he imagined two groups—one violently assaulting Christ, the other, led by a powerfully-drawn magistrate, supporting the treachery, under the pretence of maintaining order. On the L. St. Peter cuts off Malchus' ear. It is an altogether remarkable picture, while the next (31), Christ before Caiaphas, is rather disappointing. Annas and Caiaphas are both present. The latter, in answer to Christ's assertion of divinity, shouts: "He is blaspheming." (32) The scourging of Christ. (33) Christ bearing the cross is quite an archaic rendering of the episode, and occupies the first place on the northern wall. (119) The Jews worshipping idols, in the roundel, forms an antithesis to (34), The Crucifixion, an admirable fresco in spite of some shortcomings. Christ's features are not intentionally altered; Giotto merely endeavoured unsuccessfully to foreshorten the head, and only succeeded in flattening it. The naïve introduction of the angels filling the air with their lamentations unmistakably helps to express the universal grief. (120) Jonah swallowed by the

whale is pictured in the roundel preceding the masterpiece of this series. (35) The Entombment, or as it has been more properly called, the Lamentation of Christ's death, will doubtlessly attract on its own evident merits the attention of the onlooker. There is such a poignancy of grief emanating from all the figures that, whatever opinion one may entertain about primitive art, one cannot fail to recognise in this picture an immortal masterpiece. Once more the master attained success by relinquishing all the traditional or scriptural renderings of the episode. He imagined a scene which he endowed with an almost perfect pictorial and dramatic interpretation of human grief. All the visual lines in the fresco are centred on the head of the Saviour, and the expression of anguish, different in the different persons, is supremely effective. From the silent Apostle on the R. to the Virgin's tearless and distressed gaze, to the women's grief and the violent anguish of the angels, there is but one symphony of grief. Giotto in this painting created a new legendary episode in the life of Jesus, whence issued all the innumerable Pietas. (121) A lioness breathing life into her cubs is a prelude, with an obscure allegory, to (36), the Resurrection. Giotto chose for his design the incident of the "noli me tangere." Christ's face is greatly refined and far more beautiful than in the preceding compartments. (122) Elijah on the chariot of fire is the scene from the Old Testament chosen as corresponding to the mystery of (37) the Ascension. "Giotto," wrote Ruskin (p. 157), "continues to exert all his strength in these closing subjects." There is indeed a magnificent ascensional movement in the whole fresco, such as very few of the subsequent masters were capable of attaining to. The Virgin, whose features looked already worn in No. (35), appears here much aged.



ARENA CHAPEL—CHRIST TAKEN DOWN FROM THE CROSS (BY GIOTTO)

To face p. 280]

[Alinari, Florence

The Arena Chapel

(123) Moses receiving the Law signifies the foundation of the ancient Church, and is compared to the foundation of the Christian Church, symbolised in (38) the Descent of the Holy Spirit.

We now turn our attention to the monochrome allegories in the narrow panels painted under the unmistakable influence of Dante. The virtues face their corresponding vices from the R. wall; each of them has its name written above and a generally-effaced and unreadable explanatory inscription beneath it in mediæval Latin. We will only point out the least evident allegories. (124) Hope is an almost perfect creation. (125) Despair. (126) Charity, who offers her heart to Christ while she holds a basket of flowers and fruits, is wreathed with flowers and stands on bags of money. (127) Envy is a complicated allegory. The great ear symbolises her quick hearing, the snake issuing from her mouth the malice of her speech, while her covetousness is shown by her outstretched right hand and by her grasping left, burning with the flames of desire. (128) Faith. (129) Infidelity is linked by a rope to an idol; the broad brim of her helmet keeps the light of Faith from her eyes. (130) Justice. The little scenes that are being weighed on the equally balanced scales exemplify the reward extended to honest work and the severe punishment inflicted on culprits. Also the hunting-scene in the reliefs of the base indicate the state of peace obtained by an equitable enforcement of the law. (131) Injustice is represented by a giant watching the ill-treatment of the helpless; near him a man lies slain on the ground and a woman is being cruelly handled by robbers. (132) Temperance. (133) Anger. (134) Fortitude. (135) Inconstancy suggests instability by her attitude. (136) Prudence is omniscient, hence her double face allowing her to look upon past

and future, her convex mirror and the book she is reading. (137) Folly. This design had been curtailed by Giotto towards the L. to make room for a little door leading from the chapel to the palace of the Scrovegnis. In order to restore symmetry, this fresco was covered when the door was walled up, and a copy substituted in the right place. Recently the original panel has been once more brought to light.

For many a century critics have been wont to trace Dante's influence also in the general outline of the Last Judgment. And taking this collaboration of the poet with the painter for granted, the most touching stories were invented relating to the meeting of the two great Florentines in Padua. But if Dante ever came to Padua there is no documentary proof of his stay there, and the conception of the great fresco above the portal is clearly traditional and quite independent of the *Divine Comedy*, nay, it is quite inconsistent with it. And this, be it said, without the slightest prejudice, for it is most probable that friendly relations existed between the two. Giotto, as we have seen, modelled his allegorical figures on Dante's ideas, and followed them also in some of his Assisian paintings. But this composition we are now considering entirely derives from earlier mediæval symbolic works, and has nothing whatever to do with the poem of the great Florentine exile.

Giotto placed the Last Judgment above the portal, as had been traditionally done in many churches, and divided it, as usual, into three series. Yet, instead of the geometrical division of the Byzantines, he adopted a far more artistic and spontaneous one. The three-light window is contained in the fresco. Christ turns His head towards the spirits of the blessed, on the R. From his feet flows a river bearing the damned to Lucifer, who, after having gnawed and devoured

The Arena Chapel

them, restores them again to life. Other punishments we find lower in the plain of ice and in the fiery pits; demons are seen everywhere tormenting the sufferers. All these were traditional beliefs about hell to be found in many a legend of the Middle Ages. Altogether the Hell, which is considerably damaged and darkened by damp, combines bold drawing with rather poor execution. Possibly Giotto entrusted some of his pupils with the colouring of his outline for this part, while he finished the rest of the fresco, which attains a far higher degree of beauty. Christ sits in the middle, beneath the window, in an elliptical iridescent aureole. At the back a choir of angels sing in the bright light of the sun and the planets. On a marble semicircular terrace sit the Apostles, this terrace separating the empyrean from the lower portions. On the R. of Christ, led by the Virgin, who is here completely transfigured, come two ranks of souls. The first formed by angels, prophets, and the sages of antiquity. Every head is crowned by a halo. The second rank is remarkable for the realistic quality of the painting; some figures seem to be portraits. The figures follow each other in ordered groups of three, the foremost figure of each rank being of course most conspicuous. The first group is composed of royal persons; the second of monks. The first figures from R. to L. of the onlooker are St. Dominic, St. Francis, and St. Benedict. Next come the holy women in the third group, while the fourth is supposed to be formed by famous men, Giotto and Virgil being traditionally recognised in the second and third outside figures. Just above the portal is the small scene of the donor, of which we have already spoken.

The paintings in the apse cannot by any means be traced to Giotto, although he may have designed the cartoons for them for a pupil to finish. It is doubtful

who this pupil may have been. Moschetti believes, on good grounds, that he was Bernardo Daddi (p. 47). The subjects for the frescoes are taken from the apocryphal legend of St. Mary. According to it, the Madonna lived after the death of the Saviour in the neighbourhood of Sion. Having one day prayed her Divine Son to free her from corporal life, she received a heavenly message announcing her death within three days. Through her prayers the Apostles were miraculously collected round her death-bed, and they buried her according to her instructions; later she was restored to life, exalted to Heaven and crowned by her Son. On the northern side, on the top: (1) The message. (2) The miraculous arrival of the Apostles in Mary's room. (3) The death of the Virgin. On the opposite wall from the bottom: (1) The funeral of the Virgin. (2) The Assumption. (3) The Coronation. The two last episodes form but one painting. Near the two opposed pillars, which divide the tribune from the apse are two graceful Madonnas nursing the Child Jesus, generally ascribed to Giusto de' Menabuoi.

In the sacristy we behold, under a glass cover, the magnificent Crucifix painted on wood by Giotto. It was wont to hang from the tribune as the central figure of the whole decoration. In the same small sacristy are the old monument of Enrico Scrovegno, by Giovanni Pisano, the tabernacle of the thirteenth century, and an interesting fourteenth-century wardrobe.

If the visitor be able to spare a couple of hours for a rather lengthy walk, he will be rewarded by the sight of some interesting monuments. He can reach Via Garibaldi through Via Giovanni da Cittadella opposite the portal of the Eremitani, and turn to the R., along the tramway line. Five minutes' walk will bring him to the arch of Ponte dei Molini. This

Ponte dei Molini—I Carmini

has a tower from which a modern inscription incorrectly asserts that Galileo made some of his astronomical discoveries. The bridge spans the Bacchiglione with five Roman arches (Via Aurelia), which have been much restored. On the L. across the bridge, at the corner of the second road, are the massive remains of the palace erected by Ezzelino in 1351. In front, in the Piazza Petrarca, with an uninteresting monument of the poet, is the church of S. Maria del Carmine (I Carmini), built in 1523, which received a new roof and the portal in 1695. The fourth altar on the R. recalls Sansovino's style. On the last altar on the same side we meet with one of the best paintings by the much-praised Padovanino, Alessandro Varotari (1590-1650). He appears here in his happiest mood, cleverly grouping the figures and artistically disposing the masses of colour. He seems to vie with Veronese in his preference for fully-developed beauties, and for the lightness of his colouring. The mother of SS. James and John kneels before the Saviour. Another painting by the same brush may be viewed in the sacristy. The monument to Tiberio Deciano, Professor of Law, who died 1581, has been attributed to A. Vittoria. The front panels of the organ are painted by Dario Varotari Padovanino's father. The Madonna on the high altar is by Stefano dall' Arzere. The sacristan will accompany the visitor to the Scuola del Carmine (a light day is essential), now used as a Baptistery. The hall belonged originally to the old monastery, but was transferred to the Scuola in 1492. The paintings are subsequent to that year, and are all overshadowed by Titian's Meeting of Joachim and Anne. The master wrought this fresco with his habitual boldness of brush and rich colouring. Life-sized figures are clothed in classic attires. The women bear a pro-

nounced Venetian character. Anne is a handsome matron, Joachim an old man. On the R. a shepherd kneels down in amazement. This picture is on the L. of the altar, the frescoes following on the L. side witness to an older craftsmanship, and we must probably ascribe them to Giulio Campagnola, Domenico's father, who wrought them for the families Grompo and Cumano. Mario, of the last-named family, was wedded to Giulia Cumano at the beginning of the sixteenth century.* These four much-damaged paintings, opposite the door, represent the Virgin's birth, the presentation in the temple, the purification and marriage. Domenico Campagnola's facile compositions, the worship of the Shepherds and the Circumcision face the altar. The Virgin on the altar is by an unknown artist of the Veronese school. The four quite effaced panels on the entrance wall have been ascribed by Volkmann to D. Campagnola.

Returning to the road, the tramway line bends sharply to the L. and debouches in front of the dark mass of Palazzo Maldura, in the avenue leading to the railway station, through Porta Codalunga, now called *Barriera Mazzini*.† We take *Via Beato Pellegrino*, which faces us and runs in a north-western direction. *Via S. Giovanni di Verdara* crosses this road. The R. (northern) branch of it leads to the

* One of the panels is signed, O.J.P. : opus Julii Patavini.

† Porta Codalunga was probably further south, near the corner of *Vicolo dei Carmini*. From here Francesco Novello da Carrara repelled the attack of the Viscontean army (19th June 1390, *see* p. 132); and through this gate entered Andrea Gritti with the Venetians in 1509 (*see* p. 143). A little to the north on a high bastion is the theatre "*della Rotonda*." This bastion was erected 1523, not far from the famous *Bastione della Gatta*, which was defended in 1509 by *Citolo da Perugia*. The latter's valorous deeds are recorded by the column on the L. of the road, which was raised in 1859. The column is a relic from the *Villino Capodilista*, levelled to the ground in 1509.

S. Giovanni di Verdara—S. Benedetto

military hospital and to the adjoining church of S. Giovanni di Verdara, built 1450 and universally considered one of the finest buildings of this period in Padua, the new Classic being engrafted on the Gothic architecture without depriving it of grace and nobility. Unfortunately it is now visible only from the outside, as it is used as a military magazine. The pictures have been removed to the Museum. The southern portion of the same road will bring us to Via dei Savonarola, leading westward to Porta Savonarola, which was erected (1530) by G. M. Falconetto, in strict obedience to classic Roman architectural rules. On our way back along Via dei Savonarola, the second turning on the R. will lead us to Riviera S. Benedetto and the not very distant church of the same name. The old monastery adjoining the church has been turned into barracks. This monastery is traditionally believed to have been planned by the Beato Giordano Forzatè, who delineated its boundaries with a stick on the ground, and as soon as this stick was planted into the earth it wondrously grew into a tree. The vast church with three naves is not of any interest. On the third altar on the L. Padovanino painted the story of the tracing of the monastery boundaries according to the tradition we have mentioned. On the wall dividing this nave from the sacristy has been recently discovered an old fourteenth-century fresco. Another painting by Varotari, Moses causing water to spring from the rock, is on the R. of the high altar.

We proceed now along the same Riviera till we reach the iron bridge (Ponte di Ferro). After crossing the river the second road on the L. will lead us immediately to the church of S. Pietro. The coloured terra-cotta relief in the first chapel on the R. is by Bellano; the painting on the high altar by Varotari,

and St. Paul's conversion on the second altar on the L. by Palma Giovane. Issuing from the church, we turn from Via S. Pietro to the L. in Via Patriarcato, which will lead us in five minutes' walk or less in an easterly direction to our usual starting-point through Piazza Capitaniato, Piazza Unità d'Italia and Piazza dei Frutti.

CHAPTER XIV

*Palazzo del Municipio — Salone —
Loggia del Consiglio—S. Nicolò—
Orologio—Reggia Carrarese—The
Cathedral—The Baptistery—Via
Vescovato—The Observatory—S.
Michele.*

STARTING again from Caffè Pedrocchi in a southerly direction, the second road on the R. will lead us immediately to the Town Hall (Palazzo del Municipio), which was once called Palazzo del Podestà. The façade may be viewed from the north-western corner in Piazza dei Frutti. The tower and the upper story preserve the original fourteenth-century style. The Doric architecture of the interior courtyard has been greatly overpraised; its construction, that lasted from 1558 to 1601, was supervised by various architects. Next to it rises the enormous bulk of the Salone or Sala della Ragione, a monument to communal freedom founded, as we have seen (*see* p. 40), about 1164-66. The erection of such an enormous edifice could only proceed by degrees. The upper story was probably completed and decorated in 1218. The wooden roof, which was crowned with battlements, having proved unsound, was replaced in 1306 by a leaden one, after the plans of the celebrated architect, Fra' Giovanni Eremitano.

The Story of Padua

The Salone* consisted of an open loggia on the ground floor and of the enormous room on the first floor, to which admission was gained through two external staircases. Fra' Giovanni added also the two external loggias which entirely altered the appearance of the building. The walls of the upper room were covered with frescoes, and a reliable tradition ascribes the choice of the subjects for this decoration to the celebrated philosopher, Pietro d'Abano, while the execution is attributed to Giotto and to his school. But the great fire of 2nd February 1420 wrecked the roof, causing terrible damage to the paintings. The Venetian Government, who were groundlessly charged with setting the palace ablaze in order to destroy the Carrarese archives, immediately provided for the restoration. But the Salone had still to pass through a dangerous ordeal. 17th August 1756, a whirlwind rent the roof, hurling it to the ground and partly wrecking the northern loggia. These loggias may be hardly considered to have improved the general outline of a building which is in itself rather poor in artistic merit, but one cannot disregard the fact that this peculiar monument sheltered most of the public offices of the commune; whence the convenience of providing a covered meeting-place for all citizens who were concerned with the business transacted there. The great room is spanned by a Gothic vault, pierced by sixteen windows, which, together with the round windows opened in the higher part of the walls and the lower two-light windows, flood it with light. The frescoes on the walls were executed by Zuan Miretto and by an unknown Ferrarese master about 1420. It is traditionally believed that they were modelled on

* To visit the Salone, open daily from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m., enter the Town Hall, ascend to the elevated terrace and ring the bell. Fee to the porter.

Salone

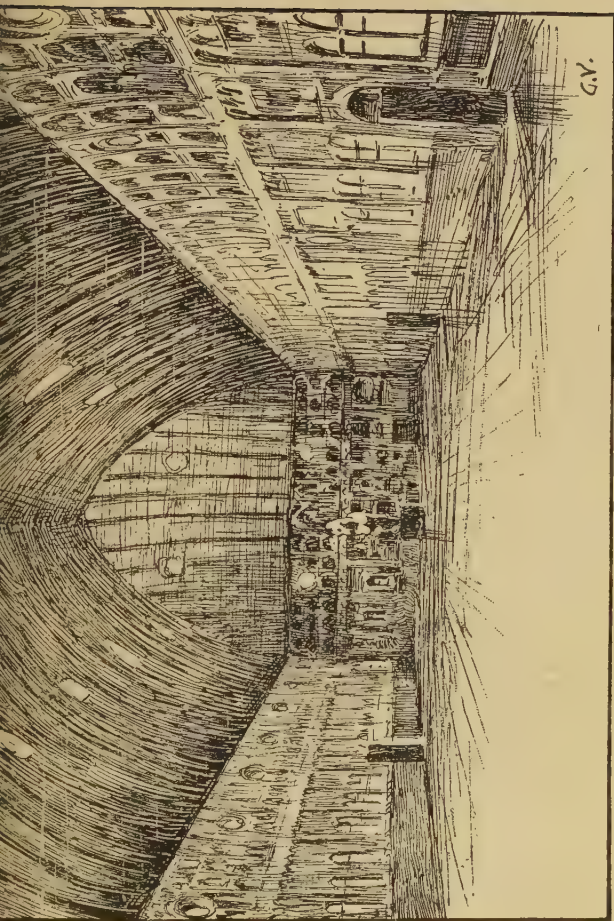
Giotto's previous decoration, yet Giotto's work, if any, was limited to the ceiling, which was destroyed by fire. Without deciding this question, we may point out the undeniable similarity of this work to the frescoes painted by Guariento on the high altar of the Eremitani. Miretto's decoration is distributed in three horizontal series, composing three hundred and nineteen compartments, most of them having an identical measure, while the Virgin, Mary Magdalen and St. Paul adoring the Saviour on the southern wall extend on all three series, as do the Coronation of the Virgin on the eastern side and St. Mark on the western. Between these larger scenes fifteen medium-sized compartments, reaching to the second series, contain the Apostles, and eight more the allegories of the winds. The keynote of the whole decoration is astronomical, the building itself being perfectly parallel to the Equator, so that the sunbeams fall, during the various months, exactly on the respective signs of the Zodiac painted on the middle series. The upper portion contains some constellations, and around the signs of the Zodiac are the various labours of the months and scenes relating to the influence of the planets upon men, which afford an interesting insight into mediæval life. In a lower rank are large figures of animals (an eagle, a bear, a peacock, a pig, etc.), beneath which stood the benches of the various civil and criminal courts, which were in consequence called "*officio dell' aquila, dell' orso, del pavone, etc.*", the documents being headed by those names. In this Salone and in the neighbouring passage is the gigantic wooden horse, moulded on the model of the steed of Gattamelata, and used for a pageant in 1466, when it was ridden by a figure representing Antenor. Among other objects are: the tomb of Livy, erected in 1548, when some credulous Paduans were convinced that the

bones found in S. Giustina during the year 1413 belonged to the great historian; two Egyptian statues and the Pietra del Vitupero (the stone of shame).^{*} On the whole the Salone is impressive by its size rather than by its architectural beauty. The Salone lies between Piazza dei Frutti and Piazza delle Erbe on the south.[†] Proceeding westward from the former square we debouch on to Piazza dei Signori or Piazza Unità d'Italia, as it has been now denominated, one of those striking monumental squares that we often meet even in minor Italian cities. On the east end of the Piazza is the uninteresting church of S. Clemente. Opposite the Palazzo del Capitaniato, with the famous clock, on the L. is the Loggia del Consiglio. In front of the loggia stands a column with the lion of St. Mark. The lion is a modern substitute, but the column was dug out in Piazzetta Pedrocchi, under the present Albergo dell' Aquila Nera, in 1764, and probably belonged to the Roman Forum.

The erection of the Loggia del Consiglio, wrongly called Gran Guardia, was decided upon in 1493, as the old residence of the city council was falling to pieces. And one of the councillors, an amateur architect, Annibale Maggi, called from his father's birthplace, Bassano, supplied the plan which was ultimately chosen. The loggia, with its round arches, supported by columns with Corinthian capitals and with its rather too heavy upper storey, is altogether a good example of Renaissance architecture strongly influenced by the style of the Lombardi. Bassano died before the completion of his work, which was

^{*} Paduans could escape the penalties inflicted upon bankrupts by doing a shameful penance associated with this stone.

[†] The measures of the Salone are 80 by 24.5 ft.; the total height 150 ft.; the internal height of the Salone is 82 ft. and 36 ft. from the floor to the beginning of the vault.



THE SALONE—INTERIOR

G.V.

Reggia Carrarese—Orologio

interrupted by the troubles arising from the League of Cambrai, and only finished in 1523 by Biagio Ferrarese.*

Man and time entered a ruinous alliance against the princely palace constructed by Ubertino Carrarese about 1345. P. P. Vergerio, the Humanist, described in glowing terms the magnificence of this residence. The sixteenth-century panegyrist of Padua, Bernardino Scardeoni, vied with him in emphasising the unparalleled beauty of this mansion. It covered an area from the still extant tower in Piazza dei Signori to the R. northwards in Via Dante to the Vicolo S. Nicolò; thence westward to Teatro Verdi and from here to the south along Via dei Donai and Via Accademia, and again eastward by the Cathedral, Via Arco Vallaresso and the Monte di Pietà, to the tower. The Reggia, as it was called, comprised different houses with many towers and a keep towering above, and rooms decorated with famous frescoes. There were over four hundred rooms, gardens gay with flowers, offices for the various departments of the Government, spacious stables. A raised passage allowed the prince and his soldiers to reach the walls of the town to the west and thence to the castle. This passage was called "traghetto." The tower still standing is famous both for its architecture and its clock. The latter, one of the earliest ever seen, was made by the celebrated professor of the University, Jacopo Dondi,† who was later granted the surname Dell' Orologio (of the clock). The clock was

* Annibale Bassano was born after 1425, perhaps about 1430, and died 1504. See Vittorio Lazzarini, *Un architetto Padovano del Rinascimento*. Bolletino del Museo Civico di Padova. Year V., (1902), Nos. 1-2.

† Jacopo died 1359 and was buried near the Baptistry. The inscription is still visible there.

completed by his son Giovanni, according to his father's instructions, in 1364; it had been put on the tower twenty years previously and marked the hours and the principal astronomical periods. But the tower partly or totally collapsed during the last months of the Carrarese domination, and in 1427 the Venetian Signory instructed a scion of the same family, Novello Dondi, to superintend its reconstruction, which was done after the old plans, preserved to this day, the machinery being entrusted to Giovanni dalle Campane.* The present clock is consequently identical with the ancient one, as is also shown by the style of the upper part of the tower, which is to be ascribed to the fourteenth century. The lower part of the tower was rebuilt in 1523 by Giovanni Maria Falconetto, when he was commissioned by the Venetian Government to restore part of the old Reggia, which was then called Palazzo del Capitanio. The arch beneath the tower with the lateral columns is one of the finest works by Falconetto. To him praise is also due for the façade of the Palazzo towards the Piazza, and the upper part of the same block towards Piazza del Duomo, now used as a Monte di Pietà (official pawn-shop). The lower part still preserves the original Gothic style. The eastern façade is a later work by Vincenzo Dotto, 1618. Nearly opposite to this façade at No. 19 in Via Monte di Pietà is a famous decoration of putti, wrought on the upper façade by D. Campagnola. The whole façade of this house was originally painted, but only the upper part of the decoration is preserved. A few steps northward from the tower we enter Via

* The clock began working 16th June 1434. Its mechanism was slightly altered in 1688 by Giovanni Carleschi, and again in 1838: See Andrea Gloria, *L'Orologio di Jacopo Dondi . . . Atti e Memorie della R. Acc. di Scienze, Lett. ed. arti di Padova*, N.S., vol. I., disp. IV., 1885.

S. Nicolo'

Dante, leading to Ponte dei Molini; various houses may be pointed out in this road which bear traces of past splendour. No. 13 on the R. has a striking mediæval tower which belonged to the Da Rio family; not far from it is the Renaissance building of the Monti Vecchi, and at No. 34 on the L. are the remains of a mediæval palace overspanning the narrow Vicolo S. Nicolò, which leads to the piazza and the Church of the same name. The original church was built in 1090 by Bishop Milo, but the oldest parts of the present edifice, the portal and the columns near it, only date back to the fourteenth century; all the rest is of a far later period, yet the little church preserves, even with its heavy interior decoration, the marks of ancient grandeur. A Venetian painting, divided into three panels (the Virgin, S. Rocco and St. Leonard), is on the first altar on the R., and on the last altar on the same side are four carvings in wood, full of life and movement (St. Anthony preaching, St. Francis' receiving the stigmata, the Baptist preaching, and a miracle of St. Bernardine of Siena) which were probably the work of the same Taurigny who carved the choir stalls of S. Giustina.

Returning to the tower we proceed westwards under the arch and overlooking the courtyard of the University Library is a charming two-light window, which is certainly as old as the Reggia. The lofty arch on the L. before reaching the library, which admits to an open staircase and leads to the Piazza del Duomo, was built 1607, after the plans of Vincenzo Dotto. In the next building, the Biblioteca Universitaria (No. 6, entrance free), we find some miserable remains of one of the Reggia rooms, the so-called Sala dei Giganti o degli Imperatori Romani. It now contains shelves loaded with books, that conceal most of the walls, but it was originally decorated with

frescoes by Avanzo and Guariento; the subjects of these frescoes and the inscriptions beneath them were suggested by Petrarch and by his Paduan disciple and friend, Lombardo della Seta. Petrarch, it may be recalled, had dedicated to Francesco Seniore da Carrara his last work, *De Viris Illustribus*, which was unfinished at the poet's death,* and afterwards completed by Lombardo. Volkmann points out a MS. of this work in the library of Darmstadt, illustrated by drawings which are evidently inspired, if not copied, from the old frescoes in this room. Unfortunately the frescoes were almost entirely repainted by the Paduan school of Titian, Domenico Campagnola, Stefano dall' Arzere and Gualtiero, about 1540. Among the portions that escaped this restoration are, luckily, the interesting portraits of Petrarch and Lombardo.

We turn now to the L. in Via Accademia. From the schoolyard we see the remains of one of the Reggia courtyards. It has a portico and an upper loggia formed by tall, graceful columns with composite capitals supporting carved wooden beams, which elegantly connect the columns to the architrave. The style of this architecture is alien to Padua and reminds one of Florentine buildings: it has been consequently ascribed to Domenico da Firenze, who appears from some chronicles to have been employed as an architect by Ubertino. The Accademia has occupied since 1779 the old chapel of the Reggia, which was decorated with frescoes by Guariento between 1343 and 1345.† Turning eastward at the end of Via Accademia, the Via Arco Vallaresso (the

* The autograph of this work is in the National Library in Paris, and it has been lately suggested by M. Léon Doréz, that death surprised the poet in the very act of completing this work.

† Some of these frescoes have been stored in the Museum where we have seen them (*see* p. 228).



CATHEDRAL AND BAPTISTERY

Cathedral

arch erected 1632 by G. B. della Scala and not, as is often stated by Palladio) is on our L., and immediately we reach Piazza del Duomo.

Joseph Wood summarised his impressions about the Cathedral of Padua in these few words: "A large Grecian architecture, built of brick but intended to receive a stone front, which has not been executed. The plan might be said to consist of two Greek crosses one beyond the other, of which the farthest from the entrance is the largest. It wants unity."* On this very spot stood an ancient church, traditionally ascribed to the seventh century, which was wrecked by the earthquake of 1117 and rebuilt before 1124. Bishop Stephen da Carrara substituted for it another edifice in 1400, the old one having fallen to pieces. Yet this fabric seems to have been very poorly constructed, as in 1524 plans had to be made for a new edifice. The Paduans are wont to boast that Sansovino's plans were on this occasion rejected in favour of those supplied by Michelangelo. If such was the case, the plans of the immortal Florentine must have been grievously emasculated, as nothing now reminds the spectator of his genius except a faint reminiscence of St. Peter's in Rome. The choir was completed first, the nave and the apse were subsequently added under the supervision of various architects. The complicated plan and the various cupolas render this church akin to S. Giustina, yet far less remarkable and attractive. In the church we may note the simple sepulchre of Sperone Speroni, who died 1588, near the northern door. Many valuable paintings are in the sacristy of the Canons. Four Saints, by Giorgio Schiavone; on the R. two interesting pictures by the younger Bassano (the Flight into Egypt and the Adoration of the Magi), a Christ

* P. 247.

by Padovanino and a Deposition from the Cross, by a disciple of Squarcione. Opposite to the door, in a lunette, is Christ between Aaron and Melchizedek, by Campagnola in his best Titianesque style. In the big carved sixteenth-century chest are various ancient and precious reliquaries, mostly of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The two staircases near the doors of the two sacristies lead to the lower church, where under the central altar is interred the body of St. Daniel (*see* p. 30). We ascend through the L. staircase and reach the tomb of Bishop Pietro Barozzi (died 1507), whose monument was executed in 1560, probably by one of the Lombardi, and the sepulchre of Cardinal Pileo da Prata, erected in 1420 and recalling the monument of Fulgosio in S. Antonio.

The northern side door leads to the Biblioteca del Capitolo. In the hall are six compartments belonging to the same altar-piece, dated 1367 and signed by Nicolò Semitecolo. They reveal the old Byzantine-Venetian style, with a faint imitation of Giotto, and represent Christ, the Virgin, the Trinity, St. Sebastian before the judge, St. Sebastian's martyrdom and his interment. At the back of the same wooden panels are some slightly later paintings. The library contains numerous interesting MSS.; autographs of Tasso and Speroni, and Latin classics, the bequest of Petrarch, and two famous and precious possessions: the Gospels written and illuminated by a "doctor Isidorus" in 1170, and a collection of Epistles, written and very cleverly decorated by a canon of Conselve, Giovanni Gaibana, in 1259.

In mediæval cities all infants had to be christened in the Baptistery erected near the cathedral. The Paduan Baptistery was founded before 1117, yet the present building could scarcely be earlier than the

Baptistery

middle of the thirteenth century, and may be traced back to 1260, when, according to some contemporary accounts, the canons ordered the reconstruction of the chapel of St. John the Baptist. It is a small square edifice with a round superstructure,* decorated with plain terra-cotta Romanesque arches. During the fourteenth century Fina Buzzaccarini, the wife of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara, had it covered inside and out with frescoes, which were highly praised. Unfortunately rain and sun, cold and wind have destroyed even the slightest traces of the outer paintings, and the interior ones were cruelly repainted by Luca Brida in the eighteenth century. The good princess was buried here with her prince, but the priests of the cathedral had the sarcophagus removed and probably even destroyed to make way for a new font, while the peculiar Gothic arch that spanned the tomb is still preserved. We learn from the chroniclers that the decoration ordered by Fina in 1388 was entrusted to Giusto, Altichiero, Giovanni and Antonio da Padova, but we cannot say who the painters were who frescoed the outer walls. As the paintings inside the chapel are quite alien to the style of Altichiero, and as Giusto's name is constantly mentioned in connection with this Baptistery, we may infer that the latter executed, together with Altichiero, most of the lost frescoes. Giusto's authorship of the interior frescoes has been, after careful examination, rejected by Von Schlosser; † they must therefore be attributed to Giovanni and Antonio. The charming decoration, though not attaining either the emotional power of Giotto's frescoes or the technical mastery of those in

* The sacristan of the cathedral will, for a small fee, open the Baptistery.

† J. v. Schlosser, *Jahrb. d. Kunstist. Samml.*, 1896, Bd. XVII., p. 18.

the Oratory of S. Giorgio, preserve in a marked degree delicacy of touch and sincerity of expression together with skilful craftsmanship. Unfortunately we can only guess by the few figures that have not been grievously repainted what the original work was like. On the central cupola is a half figure of the Saviour, surrounded by angels, Apostles and Saints. At the corners are the Evangelists and their symbols, and along the vault, scenes from the Old Testament and on the side walls scenes from the New. Some figures bearing strong realistic features have been supposed, quite gratuitously, to be portraits of Petrarch, Jacopo and Fina da Carrara. The altar-piece, divided into numerous small compartments, is by some other artist of the same period, and has not escaped the ruinous attentions of Brida. Some scenes, both in the altar-piece and in the frescoes, are closely imitated from Giotto's works in the Arena.

On the southern side of the square (No. 5) was erected in 1300 the episcopal palace, which was rebuilt in 1474 by Bishop Jacopo Zeno.* The western portal in Via Dietro al Duomo, near the southern entrance of the cathedral, and the relief representing Berta and the Emperor Henry IV. (*see* p. 15), are practically all that remains of the fourteenth-century fabric. Jacopo da Montagnana was busy in this palace (1487-95) and left some remarkable signs of his activity. In the hall of the ground floor are a Resurrection above the portal and the heads of the Roman Emperors in the vaulted ceiling. The great hall of the first floor, with the fifty painted portraits of Paduan Bishops, gives, although partly damaged and restored, a good example of a strictly Renaissance decoration. Above one of the doors is a portrait of Petrarch, often ascribed to Guariento, and believed to

* Admission is obtained by entering No. 5 and ringing the bell on the R. end of the hall. Fee to the porter.

Via Vescovato

have been originally in the House of the Canons, where the poet, being a canon himself, lived.* The frescoes in the private chapel are far more pleasing and remarkable, both for their Mantegnesque precision of design and for their Bellinesque richness of hues. The small square chapel is spanned by two groined vaults, which, on a dark blue background, spangled with stars, show the Evangelists and their symbols in the corners, while in the lunettes, which are separated by friezes, are painted in rich vivid colours Jesus Christ, the Baptist and the Apostles. In the lower portion are painted episodes from the lives of the Apostles in grey monochrome. The pretty floor, wrought 1491 by Giovan Antonio and Francesco da Urbino, complete this very attractive little chapel.

From Piazza del Duomo, skirting the southern side of the episcopal palace along Via Barbarigo, we reach Via Vescovato, that runs from east to west : across it proceeds Via Barbarigo. The first road on the L. is Via Marsala ; No. 23 Palazzo Papafava dei Carraresi (admission by personal application) contains a curious piece of sculpture by Agostino Fasolato, representing the Fall of the Angels ; sixty figures are carved from one marble block. Returning to Via Vescovato and proceeding westward, we find on our L. No. 31, the Casa degli Specchi, formerly known as Casa di Tito Livio. It is pretended that the Roman historian was born in this house. In reality we behold a façade of the later Venetian Renaissance, akin to the marvellous façade of the Venetian hospital. The name of Casa degli Specchi (House of the Mirrors) was suggested by

* The Canonica was pulled down in order to build the choir of the cathedral. The painting passed then to the Marquis Selvatico's palace, whose descendant presented it to the Bishops in 1816. See A. Zardo, *Il Petrarca e i Carraresi*. Milano, 1887, pp. 70-74.

the marble polychromatic decoration. The design for this house was probably due to Annibale Bassano or to his son Antonio; the house belonged to them and both lived in it. We cross the Bacchiglione on Ponte S. Giovanni; the road continues under the name of Via Euganea as far as Porta S. Giovanni, another classical work by Falconetto. We proceed till we reach Ponte Nuovo di Ferro, and thus approach by the dark mass of the old castle. The astronomical observatory occupies one of the two keeps of the castle erected (1237) by Ezzelino (*see* p. 66). The two towers were called from the name of their unfortunate architect, Zilie. One tower was levelled to the ground during the sixteenth century; the one left was reduced to its present appearance in 1769, when the observatory was built. The rest of the castle is now used as a prison. Nearly opposite, to the south of the observatory, is the little church of S. Michele.* This old chapel was once connected with subterranean passages with the neighbouring castle. The real church has been partly wrecked and only a chapel was preserved, which was restored, 1397, at the expense of Pietro de' Bovi, a noble courtier of the Carraras. The frescoes were entrusted, as we learn from an inscription, to Jacopo da Verona, who was once wrongly identified with Avanzo. Jacopo shows the characteristic Veronese inclination to paint armoured knights and powerful steeds, but he is far from attaining Avanzo's masterful craftsmanship. On the L. a much-damaged Nativity of Christ, beneath it the Flight into Egypt and the Adoration of the Magi. On the R. the Interment of the Virgin. Many figures in this painting were evidently meant as portraits. Setting aside the identification of Dante, Petrarch, etc.,

* The chapel belongs now to a convent. Ring at the door on the L. (No. 27). The nuns show the church readily.

S. Michele

that have been long taken for granted without any reason, we may recognise Pietro de Bovi in the white-bearded Wise Man, clothed in the heavy red mantle on which are the coat of arms and the motto of Francesco Seniore da Carrara. On the arch of the tribune is a charming Annunciation with some very interesting details. The sacristy, which is really a portion of the old church, contains two Madonnas by the same painter; one of them, where she appears together with St. John and St. Anthony, is particularly delightful.

We can return either by proceeding eastward along Riviera Tiso da Camposampiero and Via Rogati thus reaching the tramway line in Via Umberto I., or by leaving the Riviera and crossing the Canale Naviglio by the bridge called Ponte Gregorio Barbarigo we continue northward along the road of the same name till we come to the Piazza del Duomo and thence to Pedrocchi.

APPENDIX

The Last Stroll—S. Andrea—Casa di Ezzelino—Scuola di S. Rocco

ALL these places can easily be reached from our starting-point, and we have classed them together that they may be visited by the traveller when he happens to have a little time to spare.

From Pedrocchi, northward, the first road on the R., Via S. Andrea, brings us at once to the uninteresting church of the same name, in front of which a broken column supports a strange-looking lion, called by the people “la gatta di S. Andrea” (St. Andrew’s cat). It was placed here as a trophy in honour of the citizens of this “contrada,” who had gallantly fought against the Estes in 1212 (*see* p. 51). Unfortunately the present lion is only a modern substitute, as the original one was destroyed during the French occupation in 1797. Returning to the main road the next turning on the same side will take us into Via S. Lucia. A hundred yards farther, on the L., is the house (No. 19) which is supposed to have belonged to Ezzelino the Stutterer in 1160. The palace spans the Via Marsilio da Padova, and from this street we have a better view of its outline. The upper storey has Lombard two-light windows with scale-shaped decorations, which cannot be earlier than the end of the twelfth century, while the three-light window is a later addition wrought in the Venetian style of the

Appendix

fourteenth century. The arch was considerably lowered, as may easily be seen, to make room for this addition. We are now near the church of S. Lucia in a little square; the Scuola di S. Rocco (No. 31, ring the bell) abuts onto it. The cult of S. Rocco spread very rapidly in Northern Italy after the end of the thirteenth century. The Saint was a young and wealthy man of Montpellier, who gave all his money to the poor and started on pilgrimage to Rome. Italy was under the scourge of plague, and he stopped in the various cities, entered the hospitals and tended the sufferers; many of them owed their miraculous recovery to his prayers. On his return from the Holy City he was himself seized with the plague at Piacenza. He retired to a solitary hovel to suffer alone the agony of a horrible ulcer on his thigh. Angels nursed him, and a dog miraculously supplied him with food. Yet when he recovered he was so utterly changed by suffering that on his arrival in Montpellier he was mistaken for a spy and thrown into a dark dungeon. Five years he patiently supported this torture; at last one morning he was found dead in his cell, which was flooded with a bright light. On his body an inscription was found stating that all those stricken of the plague by invoking his name would be healed. The frequent recurrence of plague invasions into Italy rendered him a most popular Saint, and in most towns a guild of S. Rocco was founded, whose mission was to attend on the sick and poor. The Scuola is a beautiful room, profusely decorated by some of the disciples of Titian. The frescoes, especially those on the R. side, have suffered severely from damp, yet the decoration of lions and putti wrought by Campagnola in 1534 is, even in its present state, most charming. Campagnola also painted the altarpiece, S. Rocco and St. Lucy, and S. Rocco and

The Story of Padua

the Pope. Better preserved are the far feebler frescoes of Gualtiero on the L. side. The entombment of S. Rocco, which offers many interesting particulars and is altogether a highly decorative painting, was executed by Stefano dall' Arzere in 1521.

Nos. 25 and 29 in the same road are curious remains of solid mediæval construction.



TOWN PLAN OF PADUA (PRESENT DAY)

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